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Azerbaijan May Face 'Regional Arms Race'

LD0803203592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Report on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, presented by host Yuriy Rostov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Begin Armenian Defense Minister V. Sarkisyan recording] We began setting up a national guard within the republic's Interior Ministry several months ago. Our work shows that we must have a regular army of 30,000-35,000 men to ensure the republic's security. Now we must make significant amendments to our calculations. [end recording]

[Rostov] Gasan Gasanov has said that the Azerbaijani Republic will continue to form a national army to be sent to Nagorno-Karabakh to carry out combat operations until Armenian armed subunits are completely defeated or fully expelled from this region.

In yet another statement, Tofik Gasyumov, an official of the new Azerbaijani Government, said that ex-President Mutalibov was wrong in trying to obtain Russia's help. Gasymov stressed that Russia has an interest in setting one people against the other to preserve its own influence. Gasymov called the CIS the tool of Russia's imperialist aspirations.

President Mutalibov's resignation and that of the former Azerbaijani Government has quite definite consequences for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Power in the republic is now in the hands of those who believe more active military actions, as well as the more rapid formation of the national army, are necessary. One can surmise that Azerbaijan now will also be greatly influenced by its southern Muslim neighbors.

This is well understood in Armenia, which is playing a kind of waiting game. The mobilization of reservists has been announced, but Yerevan is now trying to play down the meaning of this step. Today's version, as you heard, is that battalions of unarmed people are being organized. While the soldiers may be unarmed during the first stage of military training, weapons will be essential to defend their territory.

Bearing in mind Transcaucasian developments, one can say that Armenia, like Azerbaijan, has moved toward setting up the prototype of its own army. It is already obvious now that in a few months, if not earlier, both Armenia and Azerbaijan will have regular military subunits concentrated on the border regions of the two countries where today there are often exchanges of fire, incursions, and kidnappings. One can hope for the positive role of mediators and talks, but the conflict's development shows that the most likely option will be military confrontation on the border, for which fairly considerable military subunits are required.

Azerbaijan will also need major forces in Nagorno-Karabakh. The question of whether or not this will result in a regional arms race is one that can still be regarded as open, but it is clear that neither Azerbaijan nor Armenia is likely to wish to participate in plans for supporting another army, namely the joint army of the CIS.

Japanese Rumors of Nuclear Brain Drain Viewed

PM0903114792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Kim Smirnov report: "Russian Physicists Consider 'Nuclear' Brain Drain Rumors Absurd"]

[Text] Despite major measures taken by Russia, Germany, and the United States to preserve the intellectual potential of the former USSR's nuclear scientists and switch it to peaceful scientific problems, the fuss in the world's press over the supposed participation of our scientists in creating a nuclear bomb for a foreign state continues unabated.

For example, in the Japanese mass media there have been reports that the Russian Government is examining the question of selling nuclear materials abroad and considers Japan a potential customer.

In the first place, the sale of nuclear materials is not the same as the sale of nuclear military secrets, and in the second place, there have been no such inquiries from Moscow. Japan itself has no specific plans to buy Russia's surplus stocks of plutonium created during the reduction of its strategic nuclear arms. Kanzo Tanigawa, director general of the Japan Science and Technology Agency, has officially stated that.

However, despite the official statements the uproar in the press and on the air waves is not diminishing. Here is an extract from a recent report from Tokyo (ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin): "After the second 'oil shock' at the end of the seventies, uranium traded at $43 a pound (453.6 grams). In the first half of the eighties, the price for uranium fluctuated around $19-$17. After 1989, however, the price fell sharply when the Soviet Union began to increase its supplies to the world market by means of one-off deals aimed at replenishing its dwindling reserves of convertible currency. Since then nuclear power station fuel has steadily dropped in price and in January 1992 was down to $8 a pound.

"At present this trend is being accelerated by reports that Russia is going to release into the market enriched uranium and plutonium extracted from warheads during the forthcoming major reduction of nuclear missiles. In Japan, specifically, they are already drawing up plans to use this fuel to produce energy in specially designed reactors."

Let us reiterate: The international trade in nuclear materials and the leak of national nuclear secrets are completely different things. Nevertheless, too often in the mass media recently there has been an abundance of

rumors and fabrications about Soviet physicists prepared to sell themselves to the "yellow devil" (what color is he now?) and make whatever he wants. Even an atom bomb.

But what do our scientists themselves think? This morning the editorial office received a statement from Russian physicists signed by Academician Ponomarev-Stepnoy, president of the Nuclear Society, S. Kapitsa, president of the Physics Society, and V. Mikhaylin, president of the Russian Physics Society. They write: "Recently in the mass media there have been a number of reports that physicists engaged in nuclear weapons research have been receiving offers of employment in countries interested in creating an atom bomb. Fears have been expressed that the participation of nuclear scientists from the former Soviet Union in the military programs of Third World countries could become a reality in the near future.

"We, the presidents of nongovernment organizations uniting specialists from a broad range of fields of contemporary physics and technology, are empowered to state that there is no reason to doubt the personal and professional responsibility of our colleagues or of nuclear specialists in the United States, Britain, France, or China who are working on nuclear weapons."

Nuclear Talks on Korean Peninsula Discussed

SK1003121792 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 9 Mar 92

["Talk" by station commentator Viktor Valentinov on inter-Korean contacts on the nuclear issue from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The North and South delegates are expected to meet for the sixth round of contacts to be held in Panmunjom on 10 March to discuss the nuclear safeguards issue. No success has been assured in the five rounds of prior talks. The two sides have failed to reach any agreement. Our station commentator, Viktor Valentinov, writes on this issue as follows:

The North and the South agreed on this issue in principle, but differences of opinion continue over the technical matters.

The North and the South this year signed the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Exchange and Cooperation and the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. These documents were soon ratified and began to go into effect. Based on this, the inter-Korean dialogue was expected to proceed very smoothly. However, though the historically significant agreement was made, the distrust between the North and the South was not eliminated. This distrust, which has continued for half a century, may not be dissolved overnight.

The issue of nuclear inspection, which is to be discussed at Panmunjom, will be for the realization of the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. This inspection is designed to ensure that nuclear development is intended solely for peaceful purposes. Therefore, simultaneous inspection of the nuclear facilities of the North and the South has been proposed.

Pyongyang wants to verify that Seoul has completely eliminated U.S. nuclear weapons from the South, and Seoul wants to obtain accurate data of the DPRK nuclear facilities from nuclear inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA].

Some Western media even claim that the North has already developed nuclear weapons. Pyongyang denies this report, and Seoul demands that this denial be proven.

This mutual distrust makes the talks difficult. Each country wants to display its good intentions on its own with unimpaired honor and without being forced. However, the two sides seem to be attempting to put pressure on each other. It seems that the South is applying more pressure, which inspires confrontation, than the North is.

Seoul, following the United States, demands that the North subject its nuclear facilities to international inspection no later than 18 March. The North in response says that the nuclear safeguards agreement signed with the IAEA will not be ratified by the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly [SPA] until 10 April. Since Pyongyang has set this schedule, it will not change it. However, Seoul complains about this. The U.S. media, in the meantime, are spreading the report that the North is delaying the inspection of its facilities to develop its nuclear weapons by this summer. Seoul, as if convinced by this report, insists on the deadline of 18 March like an ultimatum. The North warns that if this pressure continues, talks will be even more difficult.

In the meantime, Seoul and Washington are raising their threatening tone even more. With this mutual distrust and disregarding the other party's will, the talks could be disrupted completely. Who will benefit from this?

'Three Days on the Typhoon' Submarine Described

PM0503152592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 3

["Part one" of Viktor Litovkin series: "Three Days on the Typhoon"]

[Text] **1. The Missiles Are Not Targeted Anywhere**

The submarine crew was not surprised by the Moscow journalists' visit. They actually took us all around it, showed us and did not prevent us photographing everything we wanted, as if there were no secrets left anymore, or as if there was no point in guarding them like the apple of the eye. And they told us about everything frankly, although with pain. Let us leave the pain till later. First something about what the Typhoon actually is.

Captain Third Rank Viktor Tkachev showed us around the compartments and corridors of the submarine.

"The displacement of our ship is 25,000 tonnes," he said. "It is the world's biggest submarine. It is 170 m long, 25 m wide, and its height, together with the conning tower but without the extendable devices—periscopes, antennas, etc.—is 26 m.

The U.S. Ohio class submarine is of the same length as the Typhoon, almost two football fields long.

"Our submarine was built in the early eighties to counterbalance that submarine," Viktor explained.

But the "American" is a single-hull submarine, whereas the Typhoon is a unique construction. It is a catamaran, or more precisely, a trimaran. Inside its steel hull are two titanium pressure hulls with a diameter of 10 m. Between them are another three identical pressure modules—one in the bow, with six torpedo tubes and several dozen torpedoes and anti-submarine rocket-propelled torpedoes, one in the stern, where the steering compartment is located, and a central one where the main command post is located.

Each of the inner hulls—where the Captain Third Rank is in charge, being responsible for the power engineering—has a water-cooled water-moderated nuclear reactor with a capacity of 190 megawatts, a steam turbine of 45,000 horse power, an 800-kilowatt diesel generator, a propeller shaft, and a six-blade propeller.

This layout enables the submarine to submerge to a depth of several hundred meters, travel beneath ice, surface in ice breaking the floes with its hull, and to remain underwater for as long as necessary, although physicians do not recommend that people stay in a closed space for over 100 days.

Unlike diesel-powered submarines, where people even sleep on the torpedoes, the submarine has truly luxurious living conditions. The officers—there are 50 of them—live in two- or four-man paneled cabins. The cabins, which resemble train compartments but are far more spacious, have a wash basin, a television set, a writing table or desk, a bookcase, a wardrobe for outer clothing, and an air conditioner. Warrant officers—of whom there are 80—live like this too, as do the conscript sailors and petty officers—of whom there are around 40.

And this five-story "house" also has showers, a sauna with a dip pool, a small greenhouse with house plants and oxygen-releasing flowers, and bird cages—the bullfinch Gosha has already accompanied the crew on four independent cruises, and they also have some budgerigars.

The missile silos are in the space between the hulls, between the torpedo and central compartments. They contain 20 ICBM's with 10 nuclear warheads on each one. The RSM-52 missile (NATO classification SS N 20) weighs almost 100 tonnes, has a height of 16 m, a diameter of 2.5 m, and is capable of striking targets at a distance of over 9,000 km.

The "Trident-II" missile on the U.S. Ohio class submarines has approximately the same specifications. Admittedly, they carry 24 of these, with eight warheads on each. The United States has 12 such submarines, whereas we have six Typhoons.

The missiles are launched not by pressing a "red" button, which is what happens in many movies, I was told in the submarine, but by turning two special keys, one of which is held by the commander of the missile command department (Command Department 2), the other by the Typhoon's commander, Captain First Rank Sergey Yefimenko.

Viktor Tkachev joined as one of the first crew members in 1985, when the submarine was standing on the stocks at the Northern Machine-Building Plant in Severodvinsk. He was involved in lowering it into the water, the first submersion, and the first missile launches. I asked him:

"Where are your missiles targeted?"

He shrugged his shoulders in embarrassment. "I do not know. We are not told about that. Maybe the commander knows."

I asked Captain First Rank Yefimenko the same question.

"Nowhere now," he answered. "The flight program, which is recorded on punched tape, is only entered into the ship's computer complex during the performance of combat service at sea. The rest of the time it is kept sealed in my safe."

Furthermore, the submarine's commander himself cannot make the decision to launch a missile, and then launch it. This can only be done if the computer receives a coded signal from President Yeltsin's "nuclear briefcase."

The ship's computer will compare this code with the one that is in its program and will give the "go-ahead" for pre-launch operations, the commander will feed the punched tape into the system and enter several signals known only to him, the computer will assess them again, juxtapose the whereabouts of the submarine with the coordinates of the set target, and make the necessary amendments itself.

Of all the pieces of technical wisdom that were explained to me on the Typhoon, I could only understand one, but I felt that it was the most important one—any unsanctioned launch of a missile with 10 nuclear warheads from the submarine is virtually impossible.

Does Captain First Rank Yefimenko know what program is recorded in his punched tapes and where the missiles are targeted according to this program? Have amendments been made to this program following the Russian president's statement that henceforth Russian missiles will not be targeted at U.S. cities?

"My punched tapes have not been amended by anyone yet," the Captain First Rank said, "and I do not know

where my missiles are targeted; this information is held only by the General Staff where the program is written, but I suspect that they are targeted at the military installations of one of the countries that are now supplying us with humanitarian aid."

The commander added:

"I think that this should not be the case. It is improper. In the same way that it is wrong to give me bread with the one hand, and go into my pockets to see what I have in there with the other."

Sergey told us about the incident involving a U.S. submarine which occurred in our country's territorial waters while we were in the Northern Fleet. The Russian submarine with its damaged conning tower was moored next to his ship, and an analysis of its commander's actions was going on in the division staff.

"If we and America have declared that we are no longer one another's adversaries," Yefimenko said, "this statement needs to be corroborated by specific deeds and greater trust. As a step toward such trust, we must put an end to the mutual patrolling by nuclear submarines in the world ocean. I always remember that you can count the boats we have at sea on the fingers of one hand, whereas they have 18 with 368 missiles, or 2928 in terms of warheads [a u nikh—18 s 368 raketami i 2928 s boyegolovkami]. I would guess that they are not targeted at a vacuum, and this does not make me any calmer."

Captain First Rank Sergey Yefimenko is young. He is only 37. He has already been commanding the submarine for five years. He was the Typhoon's youngest commander and is now classed as an excellent specialist. He has carried out 11 training missile launches and has led several torpedo attacks. They were all successful. It would seem that Sergey has brilliant prospects and reasons to be sure of his own bright future, but Yefimenko is in a gloomy frame of mind.

The country's serious economic position and the fact that the army's problems have not been resolved are filling his life as a commander with as yet insuperable alarm and concern. People are leaving the submarine where living and service conditions are so wonderful. Almost half of the warrant officers, professionals of the highest class, are Ukrainians. They are leaving to go to their own state, since they are not convinced that they will be able to obtain a pension and an apartment at home following their military service in Russia. That is what morale is like among 40 percent of officers, too.

"I am afraid that soon I will not have anyone with whom to perform military service," the commander said.

The situation with the officers and warrant officers' labor remuneration on the submarine is also bad. The commander of the Typhoon himself, who holds in his hands the fate of whole continents, earns around 5,000 rubles [R], taking into account the bonus paid for service in the Arctic, the percentage paid for submarine service, and payments for the special conditions on nuclear submarines; Captain Third Rank Viktor Tkachev earns R3,600, while the bus driver who drives seamen the 14 km from the residential facilities to the naval base earns R5,600!

Meanwhile a packet of the cheapest cigarettes in the Arctic costs R20 and a kilogram of crackers costs R37.

However, money is not the main thing that is worrying the submariners. We will talk about their problems again.

More on Typhoon Fleet

PM0603125592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 3

["Part two" of Viktor Litovkin series: "Three Days on the Typhoon"]

[Text] **2. Ships Without a Shore**

"The main problem that bothers us today," Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander of the Northern Fleet, said in conversation with us, "is the lack of appropriations for the social sphere. We have been allocated money only for housing construction, but there is a dire shortage of it for equipping base areas, tackling radiation safety questions, protecting the environment, and repairing ships."

Indeed, it is an old, peculiarly Soviet tradition—the weapons and combat equipment first, all the rest sometime later. While creating a powerful, modern Typhoon fleet, spending billions in the process, the government did practically nothing to equip its base, although the plans were there and the money too had been allocated for the construction of berths, repair shops, arsenals, and depots and for the social sphere. Not very much, it is true, and, as it turned out, even that did not materialize.

"According to the master plan," Captain 1st Class Vladimir Sysoyev, division deputy commander for rear services, said, "there should have been a diesel charging unit here in Nerpichya for the submarine storage batteries, but there is none. There were plans for a nine-story training block for submariners, where every specialist from hydroacoustics expert to nuclear reactor engineer would be able to run through a particular emergency situation and, indeed, any combat task on a simulator, thus saving engine time and equipment."

The training center was not built either. There is only one—in Paldiski, Estonia. It is too expensive to take crews there—at current prices a one-way ticket costs 150 rubles [R], moreover a submariner would be parted from his family, whom he very rarely sees anyway. Indeed, Paldiski is now abroad: You cannot go there without visas, without agreement with the republic government. The seamen are also having to "flog" the combat materiel and extend its lifetime, lest they find themselves in a critical, perilous situation on a long voyage.

The depot zone is a big problem, too. Construction began alongside the submarine berths—in the hills. They blew up cliffs, dug holes for the foundations, filled them with cement, then abandoned them—no more money. Now the torpedoes, as with rocket-torpedoes, and other ammunition are kept in unfinished depots and the spare parts for submarines and the instruments are kept in inconvenient buildings that they put together themselves, using whatever material was available, and 60 trucks, graders, and other engineering and ancillary equipment has been left in the open in all weathers. Only a flimsy awning "protects" them from the watery Arctic sun. It is no fun replacing a fanbelt or a wheel flange in 40 degrees of frost.

Yet some specialists claim that the entire shore base was handed over a long time ago, in accordance with the documentation, and is fully operational. Every kopek has been accounted for.

I do not know about that; I have not been able to check the documents. But I did see that none of the above actually exists.

Transport is a particular worry at the base. The submariners live 14km from Nerpichya—in Zapadnaya Litsa. There is practically nothing to take them to and from their work, and you cannot go on foot in blizzards and ice. In 1987 the then defense minister Dmitriy Yazov visited the garrison. He gave an order for the submariners to be allocated eight "Ural" trucks with cabs. Thereafter they were nicknamed "Yaziks."

The "Yaziks," which carry 25 people, have had their day. The vehicles have been sent for a major overhaul and the cabs have been transferred to the chassis of trucks from the Kama plant and they have been adapted to carry 40 people, but this is not much help either—more than 1,500 officers and warrant officers have to be taken to work starting at 0600. It is easy to calculate how much time it takes when a one-way trip through the hills takes half an hour.

The base command concluded a contract with the Murmansk vehicle service to lease several buses. Every officer and warrant officer pays R50-60 rubles a month for them out of his own pay, but the buses provide an irregular service. Do not expect them to show up in a blizzard on an icy Arctic night—civilian drivers are not eager to risk their lives, but a combat post cannot be left unattended.

So the submariners get to work however they can. Some officers and warrant officers, particularly the young ones, choose the simplest option—they never go anywhere. The fact that a submarine compartment is left without a specialist is not their problem, which is essentially fair.

Fairness in social matters is a very sore spot in a submariner's life. Captain 3d Class Viktor Tkachev, who showed us around the ship, was at a loss:

"Why is the difference between the pay of an officer afloat and that of an officer on shore only R150—the price of a kilogram of sausage?"

A shore officer works from 0800 to 1800 hours, and he gets a food ration which he can use to feed his family. An officer on the ship eats on board and is on watch every third day on top of the 40-hour working week approved in Russia. That is more than 82 hours.

Captain 1st Class Leonid Zakatov, deputy commander of the ship, has estimated that in March each crew member will spend 372 hours on board. That is 198 hours more than the law prescribes, and that is assuming that the submarine stays on base and does not go to sea.

During combat service a submariner is on watch for 12-16 hours a day, if not more; that is, taking care of the reactor, dealing with the missiles, computers or steam turbines, and being in the navigation room.

What do people have to show for their labor, aside from the obviously laughable pay?

"Practically nothing," Captain Lieutenant Aleksey Atapin believes. "You would not even get a sanatorium pass for the family. They go to those whom the medical service considers the 'right people.' That is life."

Not once in 10 years' service has Tkachev been to a sanatorium, and the same goes for Atapin in six years, and for warrant offciers Andrey Volkov and Petr Maysak. Practically none of the seamen we spoke with had been to one.

Volkov has a son with chronic bronchitis, and they are expecting an addition to the family in the summer, but their apartment is damp and old.

"In the morning you go into the kitchen and there is a puddle on the floor," he said. "The walls are damp. Changing apartments is a problem."

"For our garrison apartments are not a problem," according to the deputy commander for rear services. "There is no one without a roof over his head."

Captain 1st Class Sysoyev actually promised to help Volkov.

"But it will be some time before we get rid of our dilapidated stock," he said. "Reproach, criticize, and punish me as much as you like—it will not help matters. There is no money for new construction."

Captain 1st Class Sysoyev is very proud that they were able to construct a bath and laundry combine and food depot at the base despite the total lack of resources.

"Do not ask where the construction materials came from—I cannot say," he shrugged his shoulders. "It is a matter for the prosecutor."

But the combine is standing. There is no provision as regards staffing it, but Sysoyev is able to do the entire

division's washing in a day—thanks to naval rear services, who helped obtain a Czech washing machine—and provide shower facilities for 50 people per hour.

There are no baths at the garrison in Zapadnaya Litsa. When the heating season ends there for the summer and the hot water is switched off, you have to wash in a tub or even in a basin.

But the situation is even worse in the city regarding schools and kindergartens: There are 6,000 children in the garrison. The kids attend school in four shifts and there are only 800 places in the three kindergartens.

One morning we heard some piping children's voices on board the ship. Apparently, Warrant Officer Kryukovskiy had come on watch. His wife was sick and in the hospital, there was no one to leave the preschool children with, so he was forced to take them with him—into the inner hull.

"You don't want them cooped up all day," he said.

Well, forget about the kindergartens! The submariners are short of the most basic things. For example, standard black navy boots. The only factory in the country that makes them, the St. Petersburg "Skorokhod" factory, has stopped supplying them, maybe because of a lack of leather or maybe because there is no advantage in cooperating with the Navy—it is not "Salamander" [Austrian fashion footwear concern]. Cooperation with it is a far better prospect. But the divisional depot in Nerpichya is lacking 2,000 pairs of footwear.

It is the same story with officers' shirts, vests, and meat.

During the three days we spent on board the crew did not eat fresh meat once—it was substituted by canned stewed meat or slices of very fatty sausage. What the ship also lacks is special heated rescue suits. It has been three years since the Komsomolets and its crew went down, but there are still no effective rescue facilities.

"The Navy has not received a single suit," Sysoyev told me. "Our country does not produce them and there is no hard currency to buy them abroad."

"They find the money for parliamentarians to travel abroad," Typhoon crew members say, "but it is never available for the most essential things, on which our lives depend."

Incidentally, some Russian people's deputies are well aware of the situation in Zapadnaya Litsa and on the submarine in particular. Two months or so ago a parliamentary delegation headed by Valeriy Shuykov, secretary of the Russian Supreme Soviet Defense and Security Committee, toured the submarine.

""We told him, as we have told you," Senior Lieutenant Oleg Bolshov, commander of the bilge team, said, "at great length and in great detail, about our problems without beating around the bush. He listened carefully, wrote everything down, signed the Visitors' Book, and left, but everything remained the same. Are we to go on strike to get at least some improvements?"

Unlike the miners or air traffic controllers, submariners have no right to strike or even to threaten a strike, but they do have their own way of reacting to the situation in the Navy—by resigning.

Ship Commander Captain 1st Class Sergey Yefimenko has seven letters of resignation from officers on his desk, and practically all the letters are from captain lieutenants or captains 3d class—experienced, able specialists, mature, serious people. Although they are by no means all those who want to leave the Navy.

And why are they leaving?

Navy Chief on Military Threat to Commonwealth

PM1003190192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 92 p 1

[Captain Third Rank V. Maryukha report: "Navy's Main Task Is To Survive and Maintain Combat Readiness"]

[Text] The military threat to the Commonwealth on the part of developed capitalist countries remains, despite the collapse of the Union and the openness toward the West of the states that have formed on its territory. They do not want to see competitors to their policy among the successors of the disintegrated superpower. Navy Commander Fleet Admiral Vladimir Chernavin stated this at a meeting with servicemen of the CIS Navy central apparatus.

While experiencing the most serious problems in practically every sphere of its activity, the Navy must survive and maintain its combat readiness, the commander stressed, calling on his subordinates to occupy themselves directly with their official duties and not get involved in various kinds of political rows.

Atlantic Cooperation Council Ends in Brussels

LD1003173392 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 10 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Yuriy Sidorov, Valeriy Shashkov, and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Brussels, March 10 TASS—The extraordinary session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council has ended here today with the adoption of a statement and a workplan on the development of the dialogue, partnership and cooperation.

The session was attended by representatives of 35 states.

Foreign ministers and representatives of the NATO countries, East European states, three Baltic nations and the Commonwealth gathered in Brussels to welcome new states as partners in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, says the statement.

Forum participants are determined to jointly work for the creation of a new stable order in Europe through a dialogue, partnership and cooperation.

The workplan on the development of the dialogue, partnership and cooperation outlines major directions of the council's activities in security and related areas.

Forum participants pledged to put into effect a landmark treaty on radical cuts in conventional forces in Europe without new negotiations and completely observe its provisions. They expressed the assurance the treaty will be an important stage in consolidation of stability and security in Europe thus opening the way towards further limitation of arms within the CSCE framework and cooperation in European security.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told a news conference he is satisfied with the session results.

"It was a meeting of states that share common values and consider each other in a friendly way. In future they may become allies in the interests of stability," said Kozyrev.

Welcoming the admission of the former Soviet republics in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, U.S. State Secretary James Baker told a news conference their presence at the forum expands its horizons. However, the goals remain unchanged: The creation of an atmosphere of trust and specific cooperation on the basis of democratic principles and institutions, said Baker.

Commenting on results of the council's session, NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner told the news conference the session was a historic event and noted forum participants confirmed their adherence to the principles of democracy and freedom.

Iran To Attempt Nagorno-Karabakh Mediation

PM0903103592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Konstantin Eggert: "Enlisting Moscow's Support, Iran Renews Peace Efforts in Transcaucasus"]

[Text] A high-ranking Iranian delegation is on its way to Armenia and Azerbaijan next week to continue mediation efforts in a peace settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati stated in an interview with the IRNA agency.

REUTER reports that a separate mission of the Iranian Red Crescent Society will go to the region to organize the exchange of prisoners and the bodies of the dead. The following information from REUTER is worthy of attention: According to Velayati Tehran "supporters contact with Russia and other interested sides in order to increase the chances of success of the new attempt at mediation."

Iran's persistence could seem surprising against the background of the failure of Velayati's mission last week and the criticism to which he was subjected in the press in his own country after the end of the mission. But that is only at first glance. Tehran has its own serious reasons for continuing peace efforts in the Transcaucasus.

First, Iran is afraid that if the conflict develops a flood of refugees will surge across its Northern border and Tehran does not have the funds to provide amenities for them. Second, Turkey's increasingly implacable stance, expressed in the sharp statements by President T. Ozal and parliament speaker Kusamettin Cindoruk in support of Azerbaijan has met with a positive response in Baku and consequently reduced Iran's chances in the struggle for influence in the Transcaucasus which it has been waging with Ankara.

Today the task of Iranian diplomacy is to achieve successes, albeit small ones, in its mediation activity to balance the trend toward the strong-arm solution of the Karabakh crisis. If this trend prevails in Baku then that will objectively strengthen Turkey's position in Azerbaijan.

Velayati's desire to enlist Moscow's support is not surprising either. To all appearances Moscow still seems to both Tehran and Ankara to be preferred as a mediator to the Western capitals.

UN Help Seen as Remote

PM0803172792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Mar 92 p 2

[Observer Aleksandr Golts article under "Theme of the Week" rubric: "Will the United Nations Save Us?"]

[Text] Seven flags have been hoisted aloft in front of the UN skyscraper in New York. They are the flags of the states which have just joined the United Nations Organization: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Moldova. They were hoisted to the sounds of artillery and rifle fire. But this was not a salute. The firing was resounding on the other side of the ocean. First an artillery salvo in Nagorno-Karabakh. Then an exchange of fire in Dubossary.

Readers have every reason to rebuke me for the fact that recent articles under the "Theme of the Week" rubric have been somewhat monotonous. But what can you do if two parallel processes have been the main trend throughout recent weeks? On the one hand, there is the rapid entry of the republics of the former USSR into the international arena and the continuing strengthening of their ties with the outside world (now also including military ties, as evidenced by the conclusion of a Ukrainian-Hungarian agreement). On the other hand, the republics are moving away from each other increasingly rapidly. In some places this has escalated into a tough confrontation. Trade wars are already being waged: Turkmenistan has cut off the supply of gas to Ukraine. In other regions armed clashes are continuing, and people are dying in them. This is happening in the Dnestr region and in South Ossetia. The Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh has escalated into a most veritable war.

Neither the efforts of other members of the Commonwealth nor peacemaking actions by representatives of third states are succeeding in extinguishing these "hot spots." The failure of Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati's mission is recent confirmation of this.

At the same time there is evidence of the desire of the actual participants in the conflicts to appeal no longer to individual countries but to the entire world community. Even to make foreign political interpretations of the present tragedies, as Moldovan President Snegur did when he said that the bloody events in Dubossary represented an attempt by "imperial forces" to prevent the republic joining the world community. As for the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan, they have asked the United Nations to mediate in settling the conflict.

Well, maybe it really is the case that only the world community is capable today, if not of resolving the contradictions among the CIS countries then at least of ending the bloodshed. At first sight this is a perfectly acceptable option. With the ending of the "cold war" the United Nations is acquiring ever greater significance as an instrument for ensuring stability and security on the planet. The United Nations is already conducting peacemaking operations in Lebanon and Cyprus. Actions are getting under way to establish peace in Cambodia. The "blue helmets" are landing in Yugoslavia to guarantee the security of that country's peoples too. But will the same thing happen in Nagorno-Karabakh?

Quite honestly, I doubt it. Not only because the UN intentions to ensure peace in various parts of the planet enter into obvious conflict with its financial potential. Something else is more important. That is the degree to which the direct participants in conflicts have matured to enable them to accept the UN rules for a settlement.

There has just been a kind of presentation of a battalion of our airmobile assault forces who are ready to set off for Yugoslavia as part of the UN force. There is no doubt that, if the decision on this is made, they will worthily fulfill their mission. But let us ponder as to why similar airmobile forces have failed to ensure peace in Karabakh. Why throughout these years have Armenians and Azeris been taking it in turns to accuse the military of supporting the opposite side? Why has the very unfortunate 366th Rifle Regiment been attacked now by Armenian, now by Azeri gunmen? Why did the peacemaking mission of the Armed Forces of the former Union in this region fail in the end?

All the previous experience of UN operations (which has never been properly understood in the CIS) has convincingly shown that it is senseless and dangerous to use troops to establish peace. Regardless of their own good intentions, they are inevitably sucked into the cycle of violence. It is practically inevitable that each of the sides will see them as occupiers who want to forcibly impose order.

This is why, for all its desire to end the bloodshed, the United Nations refrained from sending troops to Yugoslavia until all the participants in the conflict had given guarantees regarding a cease-fire. The question of sending the "blue helmets" to Cambodia did not arise at all and could not arise until the Paris agreements had been concluded. They were agreements which demanded not only a cease-fire but also the disarmament of most of the military formations operating in the country. When these conditions are complied with, UN troops are entrusted with a fundamentally different task—that of keeping the peace. That is, ensuring conditions such that

the peace is not violated as the result of someone's provocation or a chance incident.

Now let us ponder whether the participants in the Karabakh conflict, who have become so embittered that they spare neither women nor children, are now capable of reaching a cease-fire accord. It would be naive, to say the least, to hope under these conditions that the Security Council will risk thrusting UN forces into such a meat grinder. It would be just as naive to hope that kind uncles in blue helmets or in any other headgear will resolve our problems.

The essence of the present problems within the CIS is that the locomotive of nationalism, which was driven at high speed by republican politicians at the time of the struggle against the unforgettable "center," is today rushing along, destroying everything and everyone in its path. This "train of death" must be stopped. As a matter of fact, precisely this goal was being pursued by our partners throughout the world when they opened wide the UN doors to the republics and when they involved them in the Helsinki process and the work of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. They reckon that the CIS states will act in accordance with the principles on which these international institutions were founded. As a result, they will have civilized dealings with each other. I am sure that the chief point of application for the CIS states' efforts today must be the regulation of their relations with each other. It is in this sphere that their national interests, as well as the interests of the world community, lie.

PRC To Pursue More Flexible Export Policy

LD0903200792 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 8 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Fedoruk]

[Text] Beijing, March 8 TASS—The Chinese Government intends to pursue a more flexible policy in the sphere of export of Chinese manpower to the former Soviet republics and the activity of Chinese construction companies on their territory. This has been dictated by the necessity of extracting "quick and considerable profits" in the Commonwealth countries, ZHONGGUO RIBAO newspaper writes today.

One of the aspects of this "flexible policy" will be to permit Chinese small firms to send a "big quantity of workers" to the CIS. Chen Yongcai, a high-ranking official from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties and Foreign Trade, said in an interview with the newspaper. Firms will be allowed to send one hundred workers each instead of fifty at the present time. A quota for the border trade will be permitted at the sum of one million dollars. Last year 22,000 Chinese citizens worked in the Commonwealth countries under contracts, the Chinese ministry representative said.

In view of the difficult situation with consumer goods in the former Soviet republics, a growing number of Chinese entrepreneurs seek to open their shops in the Commonwealth states to trade in food, clothes and light industry commodities. The money earned as a result of this trade will be used for buying real estates or for construction purposes, Yongcai pointed out.

China is also planning to implement a number of industrial projects in the Commonwealth countries. "Of course, to do business in the Commonwealth is a risky affair but the possibilities for the enterprise will compensate for it", the Chinese official stressed.

Fewer Foreigners Attend Military Schools

LD0903062892 Moscow TASS in English 2145 GMT 6 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, March 7 TASS—"The number of foreign servicemen training in CIS military schools has considerably reduced, as the training now requires payment," head of the main department of the CIS allied armed forces' military-educational establishments Colonel General Nikolay Madudov told ITAR-TASS.

Life requires a considerable improvement of military specialists' training and the correspondence of level of their education to the international standards. The content of specialists' training is now being revised, new training technologies are being introduced and methods of teaching the Russian language are being improved.

Part of the hard currency payments for foreigners' training should be allocated to military schools to solve these problems, consolidate the training material base and improve living conditions of foreign students, believes the general.

"We are also concerned about the preservation of the scientific potential, especially Russian teachers, as their number is inevitably reducing," said Mamudov.

Military

CIS General Stolyarov Holds News Conference

Cited on Hostages, Nagorno-Karabakh

PM1003230992 Moscow TRUD in Russian 11 Mar 92 p 1

[Unattributed report under general headline: "Stop the Bloodshed! People Continue To Die in Transcaucasus"]

[Text] "The Army does not want to be the defenseless object of political extremism and militant nationalism and will not remain in this position," Major General of Aviation Nikolay Stolyarov, chairman of the Committee for Work with the CIS Joint Armed Forces Personnel, said yesterday at a news conference for Russian and foreign journalists, referring to the fate of the 10 officers captured by extremist groups in the Armenian city of Artik 8 March.

Gen. Stolyarov also reported on his meeting with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy the day prior to the news conference. The Russian vice president assured him that "every possible political measure will be taken on his part to return the officers." Aleksandr Rutskoy had a telephone conversation with Levon Ter-Petrosyan on this subject the same day.

It was further reported that the commander of the Seventh Army had a conversation with the Armenian president 10 March at 1530 in which the president also gave assurances that all possible measures would be taken to free the hostages.

According to Gen. Stolyarov's assessments, the military conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh is developing into a dangerous international war, and the seizure of hostages and other illegal and violent actions against the military are aimed at drawing the army into the armed hostility between the sides.

He stressed that "the army has the right to use force in retaliation in order to defend its own honor and dignity." As an extreme measure, the military is planning to blockade the areas where the armed gunmen are stationed and to assign additional military formations there.

"My position is that nothing is more important than human life," Gen. Stolyarov concluded. "We will do everything we can to deliver our colleagues from their misfortune without any casualties."

Ransom Demand Detailed

LD1003180792 Moscow TASS in English 1753 GMT 10 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Excerpts] Moscow March 10 TASS—"The Army does not want to and will not remain a meek target of political extremism and militant nationalism," chairman of the committee on the supervision of the CIS Allied Armed Forces' personnel Air Force Major-General Nikolay Stolyarov told a news conference here today.

Stolyarov commented on the fate of ten officers taken hostage by extremist groups on March 8 in the Armenian town of Artik.

He said militants sent in an ultimatum on March 9 demanding to give them within two days 5,000 Grad rocket launcher shells, 5,000 120-millimeter mortar mines, 5,000 anti-tank grenade launcher grenades, 5,000 APC ammunition units, 1,000,000 7.62 rifle cartridges and 1,000,000 5.45 rifle cartridges. Otherwise, the hostages will be killed. [passage omitted]

"These intentions are fraught with an unpredictable escalation of the conflict and numerous victims," said the general. "This may provoke rather tough international sanctions."

Stolyarov said the military plan to block the militants's location areas as an extreme measure.

Rutskoy Stresses Troop Withdrawal

LD1003200192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Excerpts] A member of the top command of the joint armed forces of the Commonwealth, Major General Nikolay Stolyarov, has said that the armed conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh is developing into a dangerous war. [passage omitted]

In a telephone conversation with the Russian Vice Premier Gennadiy Burbulis, Aleksandr Rutskoy stressed the need to withdraw all Commonwealth troops from Transcaucasia. [passage omitted]

Attacks on Servicemen Cited

OW1003222092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1937 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] From January 1 to March 6 there have been 70 attacks on servicemen serving as guards or on duty in the former USSR, the assistant to the commander of the United Armed Forces in personnel Maj.-Gen. Nikolay Stolyarov said in a press conference. He also reported that 95% of the attacks occurred in the Transcaucasian and North Caucasian military districts. As a result of the attacks 19 servicemen were killed, among them 5 officers. 23 were wounded, including 6 officers. More than two thousand weapons and nearly 60 pieces of combat equipment were stolen.

Agreement on Hostage Release

LD1103111292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] The CIS Army Command has firmly stated that 10 members of the CIS Armed Forces have been taken hostage in Armenia and are still being held there. A briefing was held on this by Major General Stolyarov, deputy commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces.

[Correspondent G. Sedov] The essence of this incident, which was described in detail by General Stolyarov, is that ten officers were called to Artik on 8 March on the pretext of a meeting and were taken hostage. [passage omitted] The hostages' names are: Reshetnikov, Kolbasyuk, Kuznetsov, Krupin, Zyuzin, Sedov, Fedorov, Barkalov, Zhigul, and Zherebitskiy. General Stolyarov said the following:

[Begin Stolyarov recording] On behalf of the leadership of the CIS Joint Armed Forces I consider it necessary to again state resolutely that the army does not wish to become an instrument for resolving interstate and interethnic disagreements. The army equally does not wish and will not remain a passive target for political extremism and militant nationalism. I was present during a talk between Russian Vice President Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy and Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. Understanding was expressed and a promise was given that assistance would be provided in the settlement of this problem. A number of other measures are also being taken aimed at returning these people.

A new report has just been received from the Transcaucasus Military District. The personnel were appalled by the illegal actions of the extremists. The command of the military district is holding negotiations aimed at releasing the hostages.

At the same time it was announced at a press conference that no information on the whereabouts of the gangs is yet available. If by this evening the hostages are not released, we plan to blockade these regions. [end recording]

We have just been informed by the committee on the work with the personnel of the CIS Armed Forces that the various sides have agreed on the release of the hostages. At noon today a group of officers representing the Coordinating Council of Officer Assemblies led by Lieutenant General [as heard] of Aviation Stolyarov, is to leave for Artik. They will fly there to take part in the process of releasing our comrades.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 0955 GMT on 11 March transmits a report that "Garnik Badalyan, head of the press service of the Armenian Foreign Ministry, described media reports about the seizure of the CIS officers as 'inaccurate.' During a telephone conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent he did not give details, but said that Ashot Manucharyan, the Armenian president's chief adviser on national security, will hold a press conference on what has taken place in Yerevan at 1530 local time—1430 Moscow time—1130 GMT."]

Nagorno-Karabakh Group Pickets Army Headquarters

LD1103141892 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT 11 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow March 11 (TASS)—A group of Muscovites picketed today the building of the chief command of the CIS allied armed forces. The picketing was organised by the Karabakh committee of Russian intellectuals.

Participants in the action sent their proposals on stopping bloodshed in Nagorno-Karabakh to Air Force Marshal Shaposhnikov, commander-in-chief of the CIS allied armed forces. These include the withdrawal of troops of the Transcaucasian Military District from the territory of Azerbaijan together with armaments and military hardware, the return of captured army depots, the creation of a special peace-keeping force in the Commonwealth and the dispatching of this force to Nagorno-Karabakh to keep the warring parties apart.

Representatives of the Karabakh committee believe the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic should be recognised de-facto.

Summits Will Fix Status of Armed Forces

PM1103112592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 92 p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Dokuchayev report: "The Documents Are Being Drawn Up in Moscow, But What Will Be Said in Kiev Is Important"]

[Text] Documents prepared by experts for the meeting of heads of state in Kiev scheduled for 20 March and for the meeting of heads of government to be held in Moscow 13 March have been examined at an official conference at the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command. The package contains a dozen or so documents on defense questions.

First and foremost it must be noted that it is not just that documents which the CIS, the Army, and the Navy need are being drawn up, but also that experience of preparing them is being accumulated. At the moment, the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command is taking the chief burden on itself, it was noted at the Administration of Affairs, but it would be desirable for the authorities of the Commonwealth states to be more actively involved in this process. At the same time, even today we can talk about positive aspects of the work on these issues. Thus all the documents are being discussed by the CIS Council

of Defense Ministers before the meeting of heads of state. The states' leaders will thus be presented with coordinated documents.

And now something about the package for the Kiev meeting. A draft agreement on the powers of the Commonwealth supreme organs with respect to defense questions has been prepared. It notes that the Council of Heads of State is the supreme Commonwealth organ and that the Council of Heads of Government carries out the coordination of the Commonwealth's military-economic activity.

It is envisaged that the Council of Heads of State will elaborate and implement the Commonwealth's military policy; determine the concept of collective defense and the basic directions of military building; adopt the Commonwealth's military doctrine and nuclear strategy; establish the procedure for the adoption of a decision to use nuclear weapons, a system of measures eliminating their unsanctioned use, and also the procedure for carrying out unified control of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction; and determine the volume of allocations and material and technical resources for defense and the maintenance of the Joint Armed Forces on the basis of proposals made by the Commonwealth heads of government.

The Council of Heads of State will establish the composition and structure of the Joint Armed Forces, form a High Command and determine its powers and the procedure for the performance of military service in the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces, and resolve other very important defense questions.

Incidentally, a provision on the Joint Armed Forces High Command is to be signed in Kiev. This document envisages that the High Command will be guided in its activity by agreements concluded between the Commonwealth member states and other Commonwealth authorized bodies, and also by normative acts of the former USSR unless they contravene the indicated agreements and decisions.

The High Command is entrusted with the following: the overall leadership of the Joint Armed Forces; the elaboration of proposals on military-political problems involved in ensuring the security of the Commonwealth member states; the elaboration of a draft plan for the development of the Joint Armed Forces, a mobilization plan, a plan for the use of the Armed Forces; proposals on allocations for the needs of the Commonwealth's defense, programs for the provision of weapons, military hardware, food, fuel, and other material and technical resources; the maintenance of the Army and Navy in constant combat readiness; the protection of the Commonwealth air borders; and the leadership of operational, combat, and mobilization training and military transport movements. The High Command also resolves other important issues.

The draft envisages that the composition of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces High Command will include the General Staff, the Strategic Forces command, and the General Purpose Forces command (for the transitional period). The document gives the commander in chief the right to create other organs of military administration, and he will determine their structure, authorized strength, and powers.

A draft agreement on the principles for staffing the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces and governing the performance of military service in them is being submitted to the Kiev meeting. The High Command proposes to establish the draft age as between 18 and 27. The terms of service for the draft are as follows: For the majority of draftees—18 months; for seamen and warrant officer personnel in service afloat—two years; for people with higher education—one year. It is envisaged that compulsory military service will be combined with service on contract. Yesterday's issue of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA explains the plan for its conditions.

As before, the drafting of citizens into military service and the procedures for recruiting them into the forces and for releasing them into the reserve will be carried out twice a year—in April-June and October-December.

The document notes that the Commonwealth member states will not prevent their citizens from performing service in the Joint Armed Forces or the armed forces of Commonwealth member states on a voluntary basis or on contract, and they recognize the need to use and develop the existing system for the training of military cadres in order to provide for cadre requirements. Trainees and students are given the right to continue and finish their training in military educational institutions free of charge.

The established military ranks for servicemen up to and including army general and equivalent ranks are being preserved.

The draft agreement on the use of the airspace envisages that the CIS airspace will be unified within the borders of the Commonwealth states. The airspace structure will be brought into line with the state borders before 1993. It is being assumed that until the relevant state structures are created, the parties to the agreement will be guided by the requirements of existing normative documents on the use of the airspace and will adopt all the necessary measures to ensure flight safety and efficient air traffic control on the territories of their states.

The participants in the meeting will have before them a draft agreement on principles for providing the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces with weapons, military hardware, and other materiel and organizing scientific-research and design and experimental work. It seems that the most important thing in it is the fact that the provision of weapons will be carried out according to coordinated, unified plans for orders and supplies of military output within a unified defense budget and with the preservation and development of cooperative ties in the production of military output and long-term industrial-economic contracts and direct contracts. Provision

of military hardware for Joint Armed Forces formations, units, and institutions will be carried out according to plans ratified by the commander in chief.

The following were also drawn up: agreements on the law enforcement organs in the Joint Armed Forces and on the status of the general-purpose forces in the transitional period; a protocol ratifying the list of military formations and installations included in the Commonwealth Strategic Forces; and a decision on the appointment of the chief of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces General Staff, the commander of the Strategic Forces, and the commander of the General-Purpose Forces.

A draft agreement on the legal principles of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces' activity has also been prepared. It notes inter alia that the social and legal protection of the personnel is settled by agreements reached by the Commonwealth member states, decisions made by its official organs, and also normative acts of the member states of the Commonwealth and the former USSR, provided that these acts do not contravene adopted agreements and decisions.

Black Sea Commander on New Position on Fleet

PM1003152092 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG in Danish 8 Mar 92 (MAGASIN section) p 7

[Report on undated Sevastopol interview with CIS Black Sea Fleet Commander Igor Kasatonov by Flemming Rose]

[Text] Sevastopol—The supreme commander of the Black Sea Fleet, Igor Kasatonov, considers Ukraine's latest move—to take control of 30 percent of the Fleet—to be a step in the right direction.

"It is a concrete figure which can be used as the basis for further negotiation, when the time comes to define the Ukrainian fleet's role, and I welcome it," the 52-year-old fleet commander said in an interview with BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG.

Kasatonov is the chief candidate for the post of head of the future Russian or CIS fleet, when and if the former Soviet republics reach agreement on retaining a joint fleet. Kasatonov took over the post of supreme commander of the Black Sea Fleet after last year's attempted coup in Moscow, and today he occupies the same office as his father, who commanded the Black Sea Fleet in the late fifties.

"We are almost on the brink of establishing a dynasty, and that feels good. The heritage imposes a duty on you, and when I myself have problems I think of the courage with which my father tackled his work."

Kasatonov's office does not have much to show of the Fleet's Soviet communist past. There are no pictures of Lenin or other communist leaders on the walls. Instead the wall behind the desk is adorned by a picture of the founder of the Russian Fleet, Peter the Great. In the corner stands the plaster bust of Pavel Nakhimov, Kasatonov's legendary predecessor during the Crimean War in the middle of the last century, and the bookcase is filled with Brockhausen's prerevolutionary encyclopedia.

The Fleet supreme commander said that the Black Sea Fleet has strategic importance—that is, that it plays a major role in the security of the whole CIS. In all of the General Staff's documents the Fleet is described as operational-strategic because it defends the CIS's southern frontier—while Ukraine points out that the Fleet's strategic importance will not be that great once tactical nuclear arms are withdrawn from the Black Sea Fleet at the end of July 1992. In the light of this Kiev takes the view that the major part of the Fleet can be handed over to Ukraine.

[Rose] Is it still your view that the Ukrainian fleet should concern itself exclusively with civilian functions such as border surveillance, antismuggling operations, and so on?

"Completely correct. Ukraine is a young state that is a mere three months old, and it is certainly too early to formulate a global role for the Fleet of such a young state," said Kasatonov, who would like to see a little more deliberation on the part of the politicians before they reach decisions.

According to the Black Sea Fleet Command, 92 percent of last November's 6,000 new conscripts have sworn the oath of allegiance to the CIS despite the fact that the number of Ukrainians in the Fleet is growing. Ukraine has passed a law to the effect that Ukrainian conscripts must do their military service in Ukraine, and this means that many of them serve in the Fleet. However, critical voices point out that the swearing of the oath has taken place under pressure and that the conscripts have not been properly informed of Kiev's views.

[Rose] Is there a danger of an armed confrontation between Russia and Ukraine, if the conflict escalates further?

[Kasatonov] No, as a military person I condemn all forms of extremism; I back negotiations. There will be no war. Two Slav peoples are involved. We simply have to get away from the unnecessary haste of certain circles, and we will no doubt find a solution.

Clarifies IZVESTIYA Report

PM1003111592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Admiral Igor Kasatonov: It Is Unwise to Sell an Operational Fleet"]

[Text] Black Sea Fleet Commander Admiral Igor Kasatonov came to the IZVESTIYA editorial office in person. "I want to clarify the information contained in your

Kiev correspondent's report 18 February (No. 41) entitled 'The Sale of the Black Sea Fleet Has Begun,'" he said. "Perhaps the Ukrainian president was misled by his aides, or perhaps he knowingly deluded himself for some political reason or other—I would not like to comment. But the fact remains. The things which Leonid Makarovich [Kravchuk] said at the press conference on the subject of the sale of the Black Sea Fleet by its command do not correspond to reality."

Kasatonov noted: "I want to point out that, of course, there is no admiral or commander alive who would start selling off his combat ships, the operational fleet, thereby reducing his combat capabilities. It is not rational, nor is it wise. And, naturally, no state leader would permit such a thing. Incidentally, the CIS, to which the Black Sea Fleet belongs, is no exception here.

"It is another matter if ships have served their time. They grow old, like people, and become worthless: They clutter the shores with rusting iron and poison the sea's flora and fauna. Four years ago, when thoughts of the Union's disintegration were not even entertained, a decision was taken to sell some of these ships for export and scrap metal. Your newspaper wrote about this problem (No. 26 of that year), so I will not go into it in detail. Although greater clarification with regard to our fleet is essential.

"Here in the Crimea," the admiral explained, "the job is being done by the 'Nevikon-Zyuyd' Joint Stock Company. This is a state commercial organization registered under Ukrainian legislation as aiming to provide social protection for servicemen working and serving in the Black Sea Fleet. The company's creation was approved by the autonomous Crimea's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers.

"Nevikon systematically prepares unwanted ships for sale or scrap, according to the directives of the Navy commander in chief. The cruiser Zhdanov, as well as the guided missile ship Neulovimiy, four patrol boats, and two submarines from the Black Sea Fleet—which were mentioned at the press conference—were handed over to customers long before the formation of the CIS and the emergence of the Black Sea Fleet's problems.

"The Zhdanov, for example, was sent to India; the Neulovimiy and the submarines were sold to Italy; the patrol boats went to Turkey. Payment for them totaled $2,780,500, and after contributions to the state budget the Navy was left with $1,054,694.

"Where did this money go? To purchase modern medical equipment and, in particular, three 'artificial kidney' dialysis machines, dentistry equipment, and drugs for Black Sea Fleet military hospitals and civilian hospitals in the Crimea. Likewise, a poultry farm was purchased and placed on the Nevikon-Zyuyd books; its construction will be completed gradually in 1993-1994. According to a 1991 directive, this year Nevikon should sell several dozen more obsolete ships and vessels from the auxiliary fleet. They include the cruiser Leningrad, four surface ships, four submarines, floating supply depots [navodniye sklady], and refuse collecting equipment... But the question of their sale for export has yet to be examined. It must be decided in the CIS Council. The fleet is common property."

After listening to Admiral Kasatonov, I could not help asking him how the Black Sea Fleet's future is being decided.

"A decision should be taken 20 March at the presidents' meeting in Kiev," the admiral said. "But the talks will be difficult. The Ukrainian side, especially its Defense Ministry, is very unwilling to recognize the obvious fact that our fleet is the Commonwealth's fleet. Although we are realistic, I believe: We recognize the Ukraine's right to its own fleet, and we are prepared to help it construct such a fleet."

Kasatonov said that the Navy is prepared to give Ukraine 29 ships and units, together with all the necessary infrastructure—support system, communications. According to the admiral, even that kind of fleet will not be cheap for Ukraine, but it is far and away the best version for a solution to those tasks set by Fleet Admiral Vladimir Chernavin, commander of the CIS Navy: namely, to combat smuggling and to defend the state borders and economic zone...

I asked: Why are the tasks facing independent Ukraine's fleet being formulated in Moscow?

"There is nothing strange in that," Kasatonov explained. "The fact is that the Ukrainian leadership itself asked Chernavin to help on this issue. This country does not yet have major, experienced experts in navy matters, and they have no idea of how to construct a fleet or how to define its purposes. In my view, this help is a natural phenomenon."

Our conversation with Admiral Igor Kasatonov broached the question of financing the fleet and supplying it with food.

"Both Russia and Ukraine allocated money to us, but Russian funds have been frozen in Kiev through the state banking system," the commander explained. "We are using Ukrainian finance, in particular coupons, without which you can buy nothing in Crimea.

"The main stream of food comes to us from Ukraine or via Ukraine," the admiral said, "but it must be noted that the change of attitudes has led to a situation whereby the commander of each unit and ship now has his own suppliers. And they may be based in the central band of Russia or even in the north.

"Strange as it may seem, everybody is working to become self-sufficient in food produce. We have been ordered to survive, so we are surviving..."

Admiral Kasatonov looks calmly at the prospects for mutual relations between the fleet and the Ukrainian leadership.

He said: "I am opposed to extremism, forcible methods, or inflamed prejudice. It is vital to reach consensus and to deal with the realities of life, including the situation in Crimea. This is a specific policy for all of us, and we intend to pursue it," the admiral said.

CIS Leaders Urged To Chart Military Future

924C0833A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 9 Mar 92 p 2

[Article by unidentified correspondent: "In the Corridors of Power—What Is Happening With the Army"]

[Text] **Recently, an ammunition depot in Azerbaijan was seized that stored up to 1,000 freight cars of various types of arms, right up to artillery and the ammunition for it. With their help, continuous combat operations could be conducted over a period of a year. This is only one of the episodes of the current situation in and around the army.**

So, what is happening with the army? This disturbs practically everyone: in the CIS, and in Russia, and in the former republics of the former Union.

It seems that after the all-Army officers assembly, the politicization of the armed forces (VS), especially in the junior officer ranks, is beginning to take on a dangerous and uncontrollable character. In some units, officers are beginning to organize themselves. They are uniting in trade unions, funds, and movements of a different political orientation.

All of this creates a situation of instability of the armed forces in the CIS, and it has a negative effect on the transition period itself in the formation of the Commonwealth. The version is not excluded that the CIS will become a purely formal organization, or it will cease to exist entirely. In the opinion of experts, this can happen even before the beginning of 1994.

Taking this into account, a number of countries of the Commonwealth have begun an active development of their own armed forces. Both legal and other methods, including the seizure of arms, are being used in the process.

But How Are Things in Russia?

Of course, Russia is the most saturated, when it comes to the deployment of troops and weapons on one territory. And, however strange this may seem, it is in this republic that the process of real military force development is moving most listlessly. In negotiations with the leaders of CIS member states, the command authorities of the combined armed forces of the Commonwealth countries are actually compelled to represent the interests of Russia. This does not please some republican leaders very much, and it does not contribute to overcoming confrontation between them.

What is the solution here? It can be seen in the creation of a Ministry of Defense of Russia. Work would be found for it, which, by the way, is happening in the other republics. And we are talking here most of all about the economic and social problems of the army. In addition, specialists consider the most important condition for appeasing the army is its immediate reequipping by way of a shift in orientation to highly technical and science-intensive types of weapons that guarantee increased combat readiness with a significant reduction in personnel. We recall that the war with Iraq in the Persian Gulf was won owing to electronics. The participation of servicemen in combat operations was minimal, which also resulted in fewer losses. There is also this problem: 40 percent of the resources allocated by Russia for defense goes to other CIS countries.

Why Combined Forces Are Necessary

What has been said in no way diminishes the necessity for the existence of combined armed forces. We will cite this fact as an example. The United States has committed itself to remove tactical nuclear weapons from its navy. If the same kind of action is also taken with respect to the CIS Navy, then the Black Sea Fleet will be deprived of a strategic status, and it will pass to the control of Ukraine. But after the loss of bases by the USSR Navy, for example, in Ethiopia, this fleet performs the function of navigation support for nuclear-powered missile submarines. They, in turn, are a deterrent means of all of the countries of the Commonwealth, including Russia. Who then will control and defend our merchant fleet and mercantile routes in the world's ocean?

In another region of the former Union—the Asiatic region—there is an increasingly greater tendency to draw the Central Asian republics into the sphere of the economic and military interests of Islamic states. There is a probability that the Russian republics of Tatarstan and Bashkorostan will also join this process. You can imagine what this could turn into for all of the CIS countries, the Baltics, and Europe as a whole. And the fact that large-scale military conflicts are virtually not stopping in the Near East and the Middle East is an example of this.

Belarus remains the most stable in this respect. Here, incidentally, the troops are also more protected in a social sense. But their concentration is such that the republic is not in a condition to maintain them independently.

Officers

Without disclosing a military secret, it can be said that the most prepared and highly professional officer and general complement of the CIS undergoes service in Russia. It is these people who look now to Russian leadership—some with distrust, but some with hope as well. The situation, in their view, is very complicated. According to some assessments, the command authorities of the CIS armed forces are not in a hurry to get rid

of people who are not interested in reforming the army. There are military commanders who should have been on pension a long time ago.

The institution of political workers continues to operate, even though it is under a different label. Now, it is the directorate for work with personnel. It is headed by General Stolyarov, a former member of the Central Committee of the RKP [Russian Communist Party]. Incidentally he was also the main chief of the officers assembly in the Kremlin.

Readers sometimes ask: But what are such well known generals as Makashov and Tarasov doing now? Despite the discharge from the armed forces of the orthodox communist—deputy General Tarasov—his friend and like-thinker, General Makashov, is still at the disposal of the command authorities. At the same time, several prominent military commanders who committed even the smallest sin in August 1991 were discharged into the reserve. Malicious tongues claim that this shows the desire of the command authorities to rid themselves of potential competitors, and to surround themselves with people who, even though dedicated, do not want to change anything.

And, still, the situation should not be dramatized. The period of uncertainty must end, and new personages will appear on the stage. Their names are rather well-known among the officers. By and large, they are far from reactionary, and they live with the same problems that a majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth live with.

Thus, the task of maintaining the stability of the combined armed forces of the CIS is in everyone's interest. And in this sense, the impending 20 March Kiev meeting of the CIS leadership is simply obliged to give the army reference points for the next two to three years.

'Democratic Russia' Protests Military Exercises

MK1103092392 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 92 p 1

[Pavel Felgengauer report: "Democrats Opposed to Exercises"]

[Text] CIS Ground Forces command-staff exercises began Monday 9 March on the basis of the Moscow and Volga-Urals Military Districts on the theme "Troop Mobilization in a Front Operation." The CIS General Staff assured your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent that the exercises are scheduled and do not involve the movement of real combat units. On 10 March the cochairmen of the "Democratic Russia" Council of Representatives drew up an appeal to Gennadiy Burbulis pressing for the exercises to be suspended at their first stage (11 March) and not resumed in the immediate future.

Commonwealth

Deputies' Congress Not on Kremlin Timetable

PM1003192192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Own information report: "No Congress of USSR People's Deputies on Kremlin Palace of Congresses' Timetable at the Moment"]

[Text] During a sitting of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium on 9 March, it was announced that the former USSR people's deputies are planning to hold their congress in their usual place—the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

This information evoked the surprise of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses' leadership. Anatoliy Yelshov, administrator of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, told our IZVESTIYA correspondent that the USSR people's deputies have not submitted a request to management to hire the premises. According to the Palace's timetable, an event entitled "The Bible—The Way to a New Life" is planned for 14-25 March. It will be held by American Seventh Day Adventists.

Mar 17 'Congress,' Rally Require Vigilance

PM1103115792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

["Commentary" by Vladimir Kuznechevskiy: "Yesterday's Men Fuel Passions"]

[Text] On 17 March—a normal working day, that is—a section of people's deputies of the USSR, which collapsed in 1991, intend to hold an extraordinary congress and pronounce the defunct Union alive. The same day, immediately after work, when people will be going home and the rush hour will be starting in the streets, their supporters intend to stage a demonstration in the Russian capital in support of the idea of resuscitating the USSR.

The potential complexity of the situation in Moscow that day can be judged by the fact that the deputies of the former USSR have splashed out, as they say, on hiring the Kremlin Palace of Congresses—in itself a symbol of legitimate congresses—for their meeting. According to available information, the intention is to bring in people from other cities for the demonstration on an organized basis. It also appears that the demonstrators' fare money has already been allocated (it would be interesting to know by whom).

The public attitude to these two events varies. The democratic press is mainly sarcastic about the meeting in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses ("former deputies of the former Union"—what can they do?!). The right-wing press is trying to prove the legitimacy of this action (the Fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies adopted a decision to

refrain from ordinary congresses but left open the question of convening a extraordinary congress).

Opinions on the demonstration are also divided. Even in the democratic press some consider that the Moscow Government would be acting rashly if it adopted a decision to ban it since a ban could lead to disorder. Others take an approving view of a ban.

Of course it is absolutely impossible from a legal viewpoint to call this meeting a congress. S. Umalatova's assertions that the three republic leaders meeting in Minsk last December had no right to dissolve a USSR consisting of 15 republics are untenable since, first, the three Baltic republics had already left the Union by then and, second and most importantly, on 21 December the leaders of what was now 11 republics met in Alma-Ata and stated in their declaration that "with the formation of the CIS the USSR ceases to exist."

But we also have to expect that, as they mount the rostrum 17 March, each one of these deputies will say that they have 200-250 thousand voters behind them. And that will be completely true, because they were indeed elected and have not been recalled (with the exception of those whose mandate came not from voters but from the CPSU Central Committee). And they will endeavor to exploit this point to the full. Indeed, either the voters should have been asked or the deputies should have been given the opportunity to work on Russian Supreme Soviet commissions and committees—and proposals to that effect were made. But now the train has already left the station, and we are confronted with the fact that 17 March could become a serious problem in the country's political life. And the Russian parliament can hardly pass the buck for solving this problem to just Moscow City Hall and the Moscow Government. Militia and internal troops forces obviously need to be mobilized that day; not to obstruct the demonstration, however, but to maintain public order, prevent bloodshed, and protect public buildings and social organizations. Judging by the leaflets and newspapers they are distributing, the organizers of the congress, rallies, and marches are in aggressive mood.

So be vigilant. We all have things we have to put up with. But for them the worse things are, the better.

New Committee Set Up To Promote CPSU Congress

MK1003122192 Moscow Teleradioveshchatelnaya Kompaniya Moskva Television in Russian 1545 GMT 7 Mar 92

[From the "Moskovskiy Teletayp" newscast]

[Text] A meeting of the leaders of a number of communist-oriented parties which has ended in Moscow has resulted in the creation of a committee to promote the convening of the 29th CPSU Congress. The committee is faced with the task of reestablishing CPSU primary party organizations at local level and restoring contacts between practically functioning organizations of communists. The Moscow CPSU City Committee, the Marxist Platform in the CPSU, the Bolshevik Platform in the CPSU, the Moscow Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] City Committee, and a number of active CPSU primary organizations have joined the new organization.

Communists Call for Moscow Support of Congress

LD0903190192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1703 GMT 9 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow—The All-Union Communist Committee demands that the Moscow Government should not put any obstacles to the convocation of the USSR People's Deputies Congress. The statement of the All-Union Communist Committee adopted on March 9 also says the following: The 6th Congress of the USSR People's Deputies is to start work on March 17 in Moscow. Since the USSR Constitution has not yet been repealed, we consider the congress as the highest power body in the country.

In complicity with the decision of the all-union conference of communists which restored the Communist Party as an organization, we welcome the convocation of the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies and hope that it will turn out to be a first step in the restoration of the single Soviet state. We call on all our compatriots irrespective of their political views to hold meetings in support for the congress and rallies on March 15.

Shevardnadze Warns of Possibile New Putsch

LD0703105492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 7 Mar (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, president of a foreign policy association, warned of the possibility of a new putsch in an interview with the weekly newspaper VZGLYAD (it is published on Saturday as a supplement to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA) published today. He thinks that the threat of a putsch "is becoming quite real." However, he did not name either possible reasons for its start, or the forces which may be heading it.

The former USSR foreign affairs minister expressed his regret concerning the fact that the breakup of the union "did not occur naturally, but happened suddenly and spontaneously." "When the fate of such an immense state which had been formed over centuries, he noted, is decided in 24 hours, we bring ourselves to the edge of the most serious cataclysms." At the same time Shevardnadze stressed that he regards "the obtaining of independence by all states" as a normal occurrence.

Media

TASS Carries Press Review for 11 Mar

LD1103072492 Moscow TASS in English 0646 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—Today's KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) newspaper reports that the main command of the joint armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has considered documents prepared by experts for a CIS summit, to be held in Kiev on March 20, and for a meeting of the CIS heads of government, to be held in Moscow on March 13.

The package consists of more than ten documents on defence issues such as in particular draft agreements on the powers of CIS top bodies on defence affairs, on principles for forming the CIS joint armed forces and for serving in them, on principles for the provision of the CIS joint armed forces with armaments, military hardware and other material resources.

The dramatic events in the former Soviet Union and in international politics following last August's coup attempt have substantially changed Russia's attitude to the North Atlantic Alliance which had been traditionally labeled in the Soviet Union as an "aggressive imperialist bloc," Aleksey Arbatov, director of the Foreign Policy Association's Disarmament and Strategic Stability Centre, writes in today's NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

At present everyone has come to like the bloc so much that it is suggested that either the CIS establishes a NATO of its own or that Russia join NATO directly. The author of the article views the idea as unrealistic.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA sums up the results of the first 100 days of the stay in office of President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine.

"He achieved tangible successes over the short period of time the world has come to know him. He has conducted himself confidently and with dignity, did not make precipitate statements and derived the maximum effect from the situation," the newspaper notes.

"Kravchuk makes an adroit use of Boris Yeltsin's miscalculations. The numerous Ukrainian diaspora has come to like and believe him. Kravchuk parted ways with the ideology of proletarian internationalism and came to count on the national movement.

"With all the contradictoriness of his policy, it is hard to imagine any other person at this post. Leonid Makarovich is fond of emphasising that not a single drop of blood has been shed in any inter-ethnic clashes during his stay in office as the president of Ukraine and that the republic remains nearly the most stable one within the CIS," KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA points out.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, analysing the causes of the resignation of Azerbaijan's President Ayaz Mutalibov, points out that the main of them is that "the Karabakh problem cannot be resolved as the Azerbaijanis would like it. An almost complete loss of control over Nagorno-Karabakh was the natural outcome of Mutalibov's policy in the military field.

"Nevertheless his resignation did not resolve the main problem—to ensure political stability in Azerbaijan and the region as a whole. The period of political crisis will, most probably, end some time after a coalition government of people's trust is formed," the newspaper writes.

A draft parliamentary resolution, which envisages the release of almost 21,000 out of 600,000 prisoners serving their term on the territory of the Russian Federation, has been submitted for consideration to the Russian parliament's presidium, NEZEVISIMAYA GAZETA reports. The amnesty is planned to cover minors, women, war veterans and the disabled.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is strongly critical of the organisers of the convocation of a "Congress of USSR People's Deputies" and of a "vsenarodnoye veche" [national assembly—reference to "veche" as ancient Russian assembly] meeting on Manezh Square, scheduled for March 17.

"In the absence of any positive programme, by appealing only to emotions and by calling on people to march backwards along bridges that have already been burned, the organisers of the veche deliberately push the people of Russia under the wheels of armoured personnel carriers so as to try to come to power and establish a dictatorship following a number of mass bloody incidents," the newspaper maintains.

PRAVDA and a number of other Moscow-based newspapers have not been published on Wednesday owing to financial difficulties.

International Affairs

U.S. 'Claims to Sole Leadership' Viewed

PM1003143992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 92 p 3

[Vladislav Drobkov report: "The United States Does Not Want To Waive Principles. The Pentagon Recommends Targeting Nuclear Weapons on 'High-Value' Facilities in Russia"]

[Text] Washington, 9 Mar—At the very time when leaders of the new independent states which have arisen on the ruins of the Soviet Union are vying with one another to destroy the defense potential they have inherited, the United States is bolstering its claims to sole leadership in the world and is preparing to reinforce its corresponding efforts in the sphere of military building. A report published in THE NEW YORK TIMES on the Pentagon's development of far-reaching recommendations aimed at perpetuating the dominating U.S. position on the planet after the end of the cold war period and the collapse of the USSR is one more testimony to this already amply defined tendency in official Washington behavior.

A report formulating the directions of U.S. policy in a changing world has been discussed for several weeks already in leading Pentagon circles. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney is expected soon to endorse this report as an internal document defining the direction of efforts in the sphere of security.

It is remarkable that it is the Pentagon, and not the U.S. State Department, that has taken the initiative in developing the basic guidelines of U.S. foreign policy.

According to the new Pentagon document, the principal U.S. goal in the modern world, to which all other tasks are subordinate, is alas not new political thinking and panhuman values. The goal is to ensure Washington's unconditional and uncontested leadership for the foreseeable future. At the same time the Pentagon recommends discouraging not only the uneasy inheritors of its former main adversary, the USSR, from pretending to the superpower role, but also its current allies in Europe and Asia.

The document contains entirely transparent advice and recommendations on how to ensure unassailable U.S. leadership in a world rid of the cold war. Above all the United States asserts its right to unilaterally determine who or what at any specific moment constitutes "a threat not only to our interests, but also to the interests of our allies and friends." And this is still not all. Washington is also to decide by itself what threats, while not undermining the immediate interests of the United States and its partners, are capable of "seriously upsetting international relations." And to decide by itself also how to combat such threats.

THE NEW YORK TIMES pertinently notes "the suspicious absence of the mention of collective actions through the United Nations." The time of collective actions, to judge by the Pentagon document, disappeared along with superpower opposition to the United States, and now the time has come for totally uneclipsed U.S. leadership. "Our foremost goal is to prevent the emergence of a new ally on the territory of the former Soviet Union or anywhere else which might present a threat of the type the Soviet Union formerly constituted," the report stresses.

In order not to allow the emergence of a rival to the United States in the guise of Russia or any other former Soviet republic, the Pentagon recommends that U.S. nuclear weapons be targeted on facilities on the territory of the former USSR "which are most valuable to present and future Russian leaders or other nuclear opponents."

As we can see, the Russian president's recent statement on ending the targeting of former Soviet missiles on the United States has provoked no effort toward mutual action in the Pentagon.

In the near future the main U.S. concern with regard to Russia and the other republics, according to the report, will be to carry out the "demilitarization of their societies, to secure the conversion of their military industry to civil production, to destroy or—in the case of Russia—radically reduce their reserves of nuclear weapons, to maintain firm command and control over nuclear weapons, and to prevent the leak of advanced military technologies and know-how to other countries."

U.S. Intelligence Groups Seen Resisting Reform

PM1103110392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Aleksandr Shalnyev report: "Open Hearings on Secret Matters"]

[Text] Washington—The U.S. Congress intelligence committees only ever hold their sessions behind closed doors, in auditoriums where even the legislator is only granted access after passing through a series of strict political cordons and undergoing thorough checking.

I entered Room 2212 of one of the massive buildings housing the offices of members of the House of Representatives Wednesday [4 March] without being intercepted by anybody. In the same way, incidentally, as dozens of other people who had come for a truly unique event—an open session of the House Committee on Intelligence.

The committee was beginning a series of hearings on the national security bill submitted to Congress recently by Committee Chairman David McCurdy. If adopted by congressmen and ratified by the President, it would

mean a radical reorganization of the entire U.S. intelligence apparatus comprising over a dozen different departments, of which the CIA is by no means the largest or the most secret.

One of the bill's clauses envisages "guaranteeing a greater degree of openness in intelligence departments' activity and in the production of intelligence information." So far this openness has only gone as far as the actual Intelligence Committee itself, which has resolved, not for the first time, to discard the heavy blanket of secrecy.

One of the main reasons for the proposed reorganization is the radical way in which the world situation has changed, marked primarily by the collapse of the US former "main adversary"—the Soviet Union. The second reason, according to D. McCurdy, is that the intelligence community has grown to a scale unimagined by anybody who witnessed its creation after World War II. Naturally, expenditure has increased accordingly—it is currently estimated at $30 billion per year.

The first round of the hearings revealed highly curious trends. First, the intelligence community itself is not overly keen on reform.

There is quite concrete evidence on this score: As the press reports, the Bush administration has submitted to Congress an intelligence budget not much different from those of the cold war era.

Here, in my view, lies the second trend: The U.S. Administration in no way considers the loss of its "main adversary" reason enough to dismantle the intelligence system or to demote it to a secondary role. The sphere of application of the human and technological resources at the intelligence services' disposal could alter, but demand for these resources remains extremely high and will grow.

Third trend: Emphasis will be placed on the "human factor," that is on work with agents, and not on the technical factor.

According to information in NEWSWEEK, Robert Gates' accession to the post of CIA director and nominal leadership of the America's entire intelligence system has brought a vigorous increase in work to broaden the nontraditional network of agents. The traditional network, the newspaper explains, comprises agents working under official cover—for example, in embassies and consulates, but it takes no effort to identify such agents: It is sufficient to collate information from the various State Department handbooks. There are also unofficial covers—for example, NEWSWEEK continues, those created by work in multinational corporations. The magazine stresses that the CIA "now deals in recruiting businessmen."

Kozyrev on North Atlantic Council Meeting

LD1003171192 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 10 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Yuriy Sidorov, Valeriy Shashkov, and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Brussles, March 10 TASS—The North Atlantic Cooperation Council opened its extraordinary session at the foreign ministers' level today at NATO headquarters in Brussels.

"We consider the North Atlantic Cooperation Council to be another mechanism to help us join the international community," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told the session.

"This is not a meeting place for former enemies, but a body for cooperation among friends working to become allies. Counter movement is needed to achieve these goals. We expect the West to make political steps to secure once and for all the recent strategic changes," noted Kozyrev.

NATO Membership Seen as Unlikely Prospect

MK1103110192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 92 p 2

[Article by Aleksey Arbatov, director of the Foreign Policy Association's Center for Disarmament and Strategic Stability, under the "Opinion" rubric: "Russia and NATO: Do We Need Each Other? If the Situation on Former USSR Territory Normalizes, the North Atlantic Alliance Will Lose Its Raison d'Etre"]

[Text] Everyone remembers the annoying typo that crept into the Russian president's message to the G-7 [Group of Seven]. In the clause which said that Russia was not raising the question of joining NATO at the present time, the "not" was omitted, which changed the meaning to the exact opposite of what was intended.

Besides the omission itself, something else was striking about this misunderstanding. While it produced amazement akin to shock in the West, the typo made no particular impression in our country. On the whole, many people thought that this was how the document was supposed to read.

This is to be explained by the fact that recently the idea of Russia joining NATO has been raised periodically at certain official levels and in the scientific and social worlds.

The dramatic events in the former USSR and international politics in the post-August period have fundamentally changed our attitude to the North Atlantic alliance, which was traditionally branded as nothing short of "an aggressive imperialist bloc." Today the pendulum has swung a long way in the opposite direction, and we have all come to like this bloc so much that there have been

suggestions either that we set up our own NATO in the CIS or that Russia join NATO straightaway.

It is certainly a fine thing that we are ridding ourselves of the wretched stereotypes of the cold war. In many ways the activity of the North Atlantic alliance deserves to be assessed positively. It was and remains a factor in military-political stability in the world and in Europe.

NATO's recent decisions are particularly pleasing: to change its military strategy, to cut nuclear and conventional armed forces and weapons, and to broaden the alliance's political functions, including the establishment of cooperation with East European countries and the independent states that were formerly USSR republics.

But there is an enormous distance between all this—improving relations with former enemies—and direct participation in the North Atlantic alliance. And attempts to cross this gap in a single leap will at best put Russia, an an uninvited guest, in an awkward situation, and will at worst create considerable political complications in our relations with the United States and West Europe.

Article 10 of NATO's founding document—the treaty of 4 April 1949—states that the alliance may invite any other European state to join provided it is able to further the principles contained in the treaty and contribute to the security of the North Atlantic zone. However, the document is primarily a political declaration, and the essence of NATO is something else, something far more tangible.

Let us start with the fact that from the moment of its foundation right up to the present day there has been a clear division of roles and powers within the North Atlantic alliance. The United States assumed the role of the guarantor of West Europe's security from what was sincerely perceived by the Americans to be the threat of "Soviet aggression." America gave its allies a pledge that it would defend them and shouldered the main economic burden of maintaining collective armed forces and the function of commanding them. It deployed nuclear weapons and conventional armed forces on the continent and ensured the support of its fleet and naval and air transportation in order to transfer reinforcements from across the ocean.

For their part, the West European countries pledged to support the United States and help it as much as they could by contributing to collective defense. They let the Americans use their territory for military bases, garrisons, depots, and other installations.

Herein lies the essence of the mutual interest and the sharing out of rights and duties among NATO members. This has not changed even today, although a noticeable redistribution of responsibilities and powers is under way in favor of West Europe.

The question arises: In what capacity does Russia indend to join NATO? If as a guarantor of West Europe's security, then West Europe is likely to say: "Thanks, but no thanks." It is rather awkward to become military allies when NATO and Russia are continuing to target thousands of nuclear warheads on each other, and will continue to do so for the next decade at least. You need a fertile imagination to picture to yourself how Russia and the United States are going to agree calculations regarding the exchange of strikes within NATO's Nuclear Planning Group.

Or, for example, how the Military Staff Committee is going to coordinate the activities of the West's antisubmarine defenses with Russian submarines breaking through the Greenland-Faroes line, and coordinate raids by allied aircraft with the actions of CIS antiaircraft defenses.

For the time being it suits Europe perfectly well to have the United States as its defender. If NATO's need for the United States ever disappears, it is unlikely that Russia will be invited to fill the vacancy. God grant that it can straighten out its own extremely acute problems and relations within the CIS, avoid the breakup of the army, and keep control of nuclear weapons.

If, however, it is supposed that the United States or West Europe would guarantee Russia's security, then this too is unrealistic. With its Army of 3 million men and its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons, Russia faces no serious military threat from outside that it would need the West's help to repulse. Neither the Muslim world, nor China, nor Ukraine or any other CIS state, nor any other country could pose such a serious threat to Russia's security. The problems that really do exist are another matter entirely; they are primarily rooted in domestic instability.

And here NATO, as a military-political organization designed to repulse an armed attack from the East and inflict retaliatory strikes, is unable to help us, and it has absolutely no wish to saddle itself with our problems. After all, the barely controllable situation in the CIS and the convulsions in Russia are no Greek-Turkish conflict or Yugoslav crisis, although even the latter brought the North Atlantic bloc into an impasse.

Of course, the so-called "threat from the South," and particularly the Islamic factor, is causing the West increasing apprehension. But not enough to make it climb into the crater of an active volcano in order to escape the threat.

It is also said that NATO was set up not just to deter the USSR, but also to control Germany. Following German unification, this is becoming an increasingly urgent task, and Russia is prepared to help. However, the West will probably reach some kind of modus vivendi with Germany, whereas controlling Russia is an extremely dubious undertaking. Moreover, it would not be such a bad idea to ask the Germans whether they would mind being controlled with help from Russia, to which Germany is the biggest donor of economic aid.

Whatever people say, the main consideration in favor of preserving the North Atlantic alliance (albeit in a modified form, but with its former essence intact) is the instability and unpredictability of the situation in the East. First and foremost this means the future of Russia, which is still an extremely mighty military power which is experiencing the profoundest of economic and political crises.

In this context the question of Russia's entry into NATO would be automatically decided. While the situation in Russia is so unstable, its entry into the alliance would simply make it fall apart, and therefore the signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty will be in no hurry to invite us to join under Article 14, especially as the purpose of Russia's joining and its role in NATO are completely incomprehensible.

If, however, as I would like to believe, the situation in Russia were to normalize and Russia were ready to join NATO, the bloc would immediately lose its raison d'etre. To put it bluntly, there would be nothing to join.

Then the time would come to set up a real system of collective security incorporating the United States, European countries, Russia and its current neighbors, Japan, and other states. If the North Atlantic alliance turns into this sort of new security system, then only the NATO name will remain. And even this is unlikely.

Kozyrev Meets EC President Delors 9 Mar

LD1003195392 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Moscow TASS in English at 1831 GMT on 10 March transmits a service message killing the following item which is by ITAR-TASS special correspondents Yuriy Sidorov, Valeriy Shashkov, and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Brussels, March 10 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on Monday [9 March] met President of the EC Commission Jacques Delors and Commission Vice-President Frans Andriessen to discuss issues of mutual interest, including intensification of bilateral relations.

The EC Commission confirmed its intention to assist Russia in its transformation into a democratic state and creation of a market economic system integrated with the world economy.

Preliminary consultations will be followed by official negotiations to sign this year a bilateral agreement to replace the previous agreement between the Soviet Union and the communities.

The new agreement will further develop principles of interaction in trade, finances and economic cooperation. It will also provide for a political dialogue.

Russia and the Commission expressed their wish to quickly use means allocated and planned to be allocated by the communities for technical assistance to the Russian economic reform.

The Russian foreign minister confirmed the Russian interest in this assistance, especially for holding the agrarian reform, develop farms and help the conversion of the military-industrial complex.

Further on Meeting

LD0903230892 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 9 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Valeriy Shashkov and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Brussels, March 9 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev met President of the Commission of European Communities Jacques Delors on his first day in Belgium on Monday [9 March]. Kozyrev told journalists that the EC may donate food and medicines to Russia. The two also discussed political cooperation with the EC. The CIS will benefit from cooperation with the EC, Kozyrev said.

The creation of an international science and technology centre to support Russian scientists during Russia's transition to a market economy was also discussed, Kozyrev added.

Government on Interaction With EC Commission

LD1003202492 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, March 10 TASS—The Russian Government has adopted a resolution on the organization of interaction with the EC Commission.

Deputy Russian Government Chairman Aleksandr Shokhin and the Russian government's plenipotentiary representative on interaction with international fiscal organizations Konstantin Kagalovskiy will supervise cooperation with the commission.

A Russian bureau on the use of consultative and technical assistance of the European Communities has been set up under the directorship of Aleksandr Khandruyev.

The resolution also provides for the preservation of the bureau on the use of consultative and technical assistance of the European Communities, set up under the Soviet Cabinet of Ministers' resolution of May 22, 1991, for six months until the 1991 program is completed.

EC, Russia, Adopt Statement on Karabakh

LD1003210592 Moscow TASS in English 2037 GMT 10 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Yuriy Sidorov, Valeriy Shashkov and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Brussels, March 10 TASS—The Russian Federation and the EC member-states are greatly concerned over the on-going conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh, which threatens to overgrow into a protracted and bloody war, says a statement on Nagorno-Karabakh adopted today upon the completion of a meeting between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and EC foreign ministers.

Such development of events would be a tragedy for the Armenian and Azeri peoples and may endanger the regional and international security, stressed the document.

In this connection, the European Communities and its member- states, as well as the Russian Federation, call on conflict participants to observe the decisions on immediate cease-fire reached on February 20 in Moscow, before the situation aggravates even more.

This is also the call of CSCE senior officials adopted on January 28 in Prague. There is an urgent need for the immediate fulfilment of decisions taken at the meeting.

The EC and the Russian Federation support the CSCE member- countries' request to the current CSCE head to be ready for mediating efforts if necessary. In this connection, they noted the importance of a meeting of the senior officials' committee on March 11.

The European Communities support mediating activities of the Russian Federation, namely the initiatives of Russian President Yeltsin and a meeting between Armenian, Azeri and Russian foreign ministers held on February 20 in Moscow on the initiative of the Russian foreign minister.

The fulfilment of the meeting agreements, in the opinion of the statement authors, will enable the lowering of tension around Nagorno-Karabakh and create conditions for negotiations on the problem's essence.

The EC and Russia support the call for the creation of safe corridors for humanitarian assistance. They welcome the agreement of the conflicting sides on participation of the International Red Cross in this action and hope the Red Cross and other non-governmental organizations will play an important role in sending humanitarian aid to conflict victims, says the statement.

The document also noted the EC and Russia's call on both warring sides to observe the letter and the spirit of the CSCE Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Charter and the U.N. principles.

Ministry: Iraq Must Comply With UN Decisions

OW1003165192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1325 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Foreign Ministry "is determined that Iraq must comply with all UN Security Council's decisions without reservations," but believes that the resumption of war in the Persian Gulf is "extremely undesirable". Anatoliy Filev, first deputy director of the Middle East and North Africa Department, told IF [INTERFAX] that the Russian side has repeatedly made its opinion known to Iraq in an attempt to convince it of the need for a full and complete compliance with the decisions of the world community, including those providing for the elimination of Iraq's dangerous armaments. According to the Russian diplomat, the sitting of the Security Council to be held in the coming days that will be addressed by the Iraqi Deputy Premier Tariq Aziz will be important. Asked by IF, the senior diplomat confirmed that "Russia continued to observe the economic sanctions against Iraq." The diplomat also said that "we had never cooperated with Iraq on the development of nuclear arms." The two sides only cooperated on peaceful use of nuclear energy, but the cooperation has been stopped, so "Western partners cannot have any grievances against us." Faleyev dismissed as "pure fantasy" the reports that some of the Russian physicists had allegedly left for Iraq.

Russian Official on Release of Kuwaiti POWs

LD0803145492 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 1325 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 8 Mar—A senior official at the Russian Foreign Ministry has stated that Russia will accept nothing short of a complete implementation by the Iraqi regime of all the UN Security Council resolutions on the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, including the immediate settlement of the Kuwaiti POWs and hostages who are still in the regime's prisons.

Viktor Gogitidze, counsellor of the Near Eastern and North African Administration at the Russian Ministry of External Relations, told KUNA today that it is necessary to give time to the diplomatic and political channels in order to find a solution for the "painful" question of the Kuwaiti prisoners.

He added that his country has adopted practical steps for ensuring the release of Kuwaiti prisoners still in the prisons of the Baghdad regime, both via the international organizations or bilateral relations between Moscow and Baghdad.

He added that the Iraqi regime realizes that the former USSR asked it to release the Kuwaiti prisoners and that Russia, the heir of the USSR, now asks that regime to put a speedy end to the question of the Kuwaiti prisoners.

Speaking of Kuwaiti-Russian relations, Gogitidze, who previously occupied the post of chief of the Arab Gulf administration at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said that the two countries have a positive asset which could give a push forward to the development and deepening of

their relations in all spheres. He added that Kuwaiti-Soviet relations have continued to develop constructively since 1963 and have acquired a dynamic character.

Gogitidze said that trade and economic relations between the two countries is in need of strengthening, similar to the development of the political relations, which have witnessed a great deal of development at the highest levels.

Paper Reports on Russian-Indian Trade Protocol

PM0803215892 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Nikolay Paklin report: "Tea and Pepper in Exchange for Military Equipment"]

[Text] Delhi—The final round of the Russian-Indian economic talks in Delhi proved more difficult than might have been expected after the Moscow meeting of high-ranking experts in mid-January. The stumbling block was the question of mutual debts, which have now reached staggering proportions.

A compromise was eventually found, and the delegations signed a protocol between the Russian and Indian Governments on barter and payments in 1992—the first protocol in the history of Russian-Indian relations. This document establishes a total annual commodity turnover of 2.2 billion U.S. dollars between our countries. That is roughly equivalent to 57 billion Indian rupees. If you compare this amount to Russia's share of the former USSR's trade with India, it seems that trade between Russia and India is to stay at the same level.

What will India supply to Russia? As always, tea, which comes under the category of hard-currency goods—600,000 tonnes this year. In addition to this, it will supply us with substantial quantities of coffee, black pepper, and other spices. Russia will buy more medicines from India than it did in 1991. We will import raw materials and semifinished products for consumer goods manufacture. In exchange, we have pledged to supply India with 4 million tonnes of crude oil, 600,000 tonnes of diesel fuel, rolled ferrous metal, copper, and even...newspaper. Our exports will also include substantial amounts of special supplies: combat equipment and the spare parts to go with it.

The protocol signed in Delhi proposes that approximately one-third of purchases in India will be made by Russian enterprises from their export earnings. The document offers our industrial and trade firms broad opportunities for engaging in Russian-Indian trade. Henceforth, corporate bodies and private individuals may open accounts with Indian banks and deposit monies received from the Indian side for the export of their goods. Plants and factories supplying India with equipment will be able to keep all 100 percent of their earnings in these accounts. Half of all profits from supplying raw materials will have to be transferred to a central account in Russia, but, on the other hand, suppliers of raw materials will be paid one-quarter of their profits in dollars and another one-quarter in Indian rupees. They will be able to dispose of all their profits at their own discretion.

All forms of trade will be generally accepted: reciprocal trade, commodity exchange, barter deals, and so forth. It should be borne in mind, however, that neither the Russian nor the Indian Governments will be responsible for trade outside the terms of the protocol. Consequently, enterprises and firms assuming the role of trade partners will have to take all the risk themselves. There is no getting away from the fact that our favorable foreign trade conditions are coming to an end and that the era of market relations—in which initiative entails risk—is upon us.

Reservations About Baltic States Council Noted

PM0903145792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Maksim Yusin report: "Ten Baltic Countries Creating Regional Association"]

[Text] A new regional association is being formed in Europe. On 5 March the foreign ministers of 10 countries (Russia, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia) signed a treaty on the formation of the Union of Baltic Sea States.

This is the second such grouping that Russia has joined in the past month. At the beginning of February the countries of the Black Sea basin created an economic cooperation zone in Istanbul. But whereas many states with no direct access to the Black Sea joined the "Istanbul group," the founders of the Baltic Council adhered strictly to the geographical principle.

Nine of the 10 states are actually on the Baltic and Norway is connected to it by the Skagerrak and the Kattegat. Czechoslovakia, Ukraine, and Belarus, which are showing great interest in the Baltic region, have not joined the council. Iceland, which is drawn historically toward Scandinavia, will be given observer status at best.

The idea of creating a Baltic regional association originated with Denmark and Germany. The idea was first mooted a year ago by [Danish Foreign Minister] Ellemann-Jensen and his German counterpart H.D. Genscher. At that time this initiative was virtually impossible to implement. Moscow was stubbornly refusing to grant independence to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, whereas the majority of the Baltic states did not recognize their annexation by the Soviet Union. It was only after the failure of the August putsch and the Baltic states' acquisition of independence that the deadlock was broken.

The intention of the council's cochairmen is that it will work mainly on questions of the economy, ecology, transport, the power industry, and tourism.

Admittedly, some Baltic states are afraid that the former socialist countries, first and foremost Russia, are trying to reduce the council's entire activity to granting them credits and humanitarian aid. The Russian Foreign Ministry does not accept that viewpoint. According to one diplomat, "our long-term, priority aim is to establish close, mutually beneficial ties with countries in the region."

In the opinion of foreign observers, however, the economic potential of the new formation should not be overestimated: Finland and Sweden are going through an economic slump, the northern laender of Germany adjacent to the Baltic are less developed than the south of the country, the Polish reform is suffering serious disruptions, and the economic situation in Russia and its Baltic region is utterly gloomy.

It is not ruled out that our disagreements with the Baltic states will surface at the conference too. This relates primarily to the timing of the troop withdrawal and the economic problems which are occurring among the republics of the former Union. "If these themes are raised by our neighbors, we hope that the discussion will be calm and free of confrontation. Ultimately there are no antagonistic confrontations among us," the Russian diplomat said.

In turn Russia hopes to invoke the council's authority if the rights of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic are violated.

A declaration on the creation of the council of the Baltic Sea States will be adopted on the results of the meeting and the council's charter will be approved. Conferences of the 10 countries' foreign ministers will be held regularly—once a year in each capital in turn.

Tajikistan, Tatarstan To Cooperate on Trade

LD1003185292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1254 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Business News" section]

[Text] Kazan—On March 9, an echelon containing diesel fuel was dispatched from Tatarstan to Tajikistan, intended for fuelling agricultural machinery during spring sowing campaign.

Yakub Galimov, head of material resources and interregional relations department of Tatarstan's state economics committee, told PF [POSTFACTUM] that this first 30,000-ton fuel batch will be received by Tajikistan in March-April according to the treaty signed by two republics. It is also envisaged by the treaty to supply 100,000 tons of fuel oil and 200 tons of green-house polyethylene film within the same time-span. Tatarstan, in its turn, will receive aluminium, cotton, wool, hosiery, refrigerators and a wide range of food stuffs.

Ukraine Seeks Links With Tyumen Oilfield

PM0903153792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Mar 92 First Edition p 5

[Special correspondent Vladimir Yefimov report under the "Contacts" rubric: "Ukraine Gambles on Tyumen"]

[Text] Kiev—Talks on questions of mutually advantageous cooperation between the Ukrainian Government and the Tyumen Oblast administration were completed recently. The need for them was dictated by a major complex of mutual economic interests. Tyumen is the main supplier of oil, gas, and pit props, and Ukraine of foodstuffs, consumer goods, agricultural equipment, rolled metal, and pipes. The Ukrainian Government, on whose initiative these talks were held, is perfectly well aware of the need for them right now, on the threshold of the sowing campaign. The really critical fuel situation has forced the Ukrainian Government to take unpopular measures—the use of official transport has been halved, and all gasoline pumps have been completely shut down. But even these steps probably do not guarantee the success of the sowing campaign.

At the same time the situation in which Ukraine finds itself today undoubtedly also poses a serious threat to the Russian market. The rapid drop in oil extraction, which, according to CIA estimates, will stand at 100 million tonnes this year, is already being perceived by oil industrialists as a very optimistic forecast and not without grounds. The lack of material and technical resources, the lion's share of which used to be supplied by Ukraine, will drive the oil and gas complex into such a pit that it will take it decades to crawl out of it. This is precisely why, acting within the framework of the interstate agreement signed in Minsk two weeks ago, the Ukrainian Government is establishing direct ties with the Tyumen Oblast administration.

"We must be perfectly well aware that none of us suffers from altruism and that we were not created to work for one another," Prime Minister Vitold Fokin said. "But Russia and Ukraine are so integrated economically that it would be criminal to work toward a still greater collapse of our ties. Because this is the paradox: Today we are forced to buy in oil abroad even though, as the overseas sellers themselves say, it is Tyumen oil that we are buying. Our attempts to establish relations with Iran are not at all a policy but, rather, what is called 'keeping our pants up.' It is a question of some 2-3 million tonnes of oil. Therefore I would not share the euphoric sentiments of individual politicians in respect of Iran because we must gamble on Tyumen above all."

"In recent months Tyumen has become very alluring to many foreign partners," Yuriy Shafranik, head of the Tyumen Oblast administration, said. "Thus, an agreement has been reached on investments worth 400 million [currency not specified] by the Mobil Company. Why can there not be Ukrainian investments, for example, to set up a joint venture in Ukraine for the refining of oil? Refineries here are lying idle, while there

simply are none in Tyumen Oblast. It also should not be forgotten that approximately 600,000 Ukrainians work in our oblast, having been mobilized by the state in the past to open up the oil and gas complex and been guaranteed corresponding privileges. Now that the Union no longer exists, they are experiencing perfectly valid fears connected both with the retention of housing and with pensions. Ukraine and Tyumen are too closely bound, and I intuitively feel that it is the development of our relations that is the way out of the crisis."

The sides have agreed to set up a unified coordinating organ to monitor the fulfillment of reciprocal commitments.

Israel Sends Humanitarian Assistance to Moscow

OW1003234692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2005 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Israel's health ministry has sent the Humanitarian Assistance Committee in Moscow nearly 2 tons of medicines and medical equipment, an Israeli embassy official told IF [INTERFAX] on Monday [9 March].

The aid will be handed over to Moscow's Second Hospital for WWII veterans and invalids at a ceremony beginning on hospital grounds at noon on March 12.

FRG Grants Credits for Ships Purchase

PM0903151792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Mar 92 First Edition p 2

[AEN—BIZNES-FAKT report from BIZNES-TASS roundup under the "Business News" rubric: "Additional Credit"]

[Text] An accord has been reached on Germany's granting Russia additional credit to the tune of 3 billion marks. It is earmarked to pay for 15 ships which were built under an order from the former USSR and which have now been lying in German yards for several months.

World Economic Congress Scheduled for Aug

OW0903184292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1621 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian government has accepted the proposal put forward by the Academy of Sciences, the Economic Academy and the Trade-Industrial Chamber to hold the 10th World Congress of the International Economic Association in Moscow between August 24 and 28. Some 1,500 people will take part in the work of the Congress, including up to 800 representatives from other countries.

Deputy Premier Aleksandr Shokhin has been appointed Chairman of the Russian Organizing Committee of the Congress.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Visits Krasnodar, Meets With Kubans

LD1003173392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 10 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS corrrespondent Victor Zhilyakov]

[Text] Sochi, 10 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin who is here on vacation today visited the production association Krasnodar Tea [Krasnodarskiy Chay]. He viewed the Dagomys tea factory which is the largest in Russia and visited the tea plantations. On the same day president met with the large group of Kuban farmers who flew from Krasnodar to see him. Opinions were voiced that Kuban is a very promising region for setting up farmers and peasants' enterprises. Participants in the meeting said that if there are no obstacles from the obsolete agricultural-industrial structures private farming in Kuban will develop very rapidly.

Praises Private Farmers

LD1003193192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Address by President Boris Yeltsin to Kuban farmers on 10 March; recorded—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] From the point of view of developing private farming—although in this respect you are indeed ahead of many others—there are still many questions which we have not yet solved for farmers. Today's farmer is still not completely free. He is either not being given land, or machines, or it is too expensive; he is made to beat the steps of various bureaucratic offices for months in order to register his land, or else he is being baited; he even finds his machines damaged sometimes. In general, he still has such anxieties. Nevertheless, I believe that Kuban farmers today are among the pioneers in private farming. [video shows Yeltsin talking to farmers]

Yeltsin Issues Presidential Decrees, Orders

On Ambassadors, Komi Mission

PM1003122792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Appointments"]

[Text] By a decree of the Russian Federation president Leonid Yakovlevich Smolyakov has been awarded the diplomatic rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

By a decree of the Russian Federation president Viktor Georgiyevich Komplektov has been relieved of his

duties as Russian Federation ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States of America in connection with his transfer to other work.

By a decree of the Russian Federation president a permanent mission of the Komi SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] under the Russian Federation president has been established in order to ensure collaboration between the highest executive organs of power of the Russian Federation and the Komi SSR. Yuriy Skokov, Russian Federation state counselor and secretary of the Commission under the Russian Federation president for Elaborating Proposals on the Status, Structure, and Working Methods of the Russian Federation Security Council, has been charged with ensuring the coordination of collaboration between the Komi SSR government and the Russian Federation president's administration.

On Price Controls

PM1003154192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Own Information report: "Only Vodka Under Control"]

[Text] Prices for basic foodstuffs, controlled up to now by the government, are henceforth freed, albeit not wholly but conditionally, at the discretion of local organs of power.

President Yeltsin has published a decree according to which the organs of executive power of republics within the Federation, krays, oblasts, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are given the right to abolish the price-hike ceilings established by the Russian Federation Government for bread, milk, kefir, defatted curd cheese, sugar, salt, vegetable oil, and matches. Of the list compiled 19 December, only vodka remains under the control of the Federation.

The decree recommends that all monies thus released be channeled into supplementing regional funds for social protection.

Although in form the decree merely transfers price control to local level, in fact it is proof of the government's determination to pursue a policy of economic reform despite criticism.

On Bashkortostan

PM1003142192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Mar 92 First Edition p 2

[Russian Federation President's Decree No. 193 "On Urgent Measures to Stabilize the Economy, Develop the Social Sphere, and Conserve the Environment of the Republic of Bashkortostan"]

[Text] With a view to stabilizing the economic and social position of the Republic of Bashkortostan under the conditions of the economic reforms and to fulfilling the previously adopted government decisions on the conservation of the environment, the modernization and retooling of the petroleum, petroleum refining, and petrochemical industries of the republic, I decree:

1. That it be deemed essential to continue the implementation of the measures defined by the USSR Council of Ministers 14 July 1987 resolution no. 781 "on priority measures to conserve the environment in the cities of Sterlitamak and Salavat, Bashkir ASSR" and 2 June 1990 resolution no. 556 "on priority measures to conserve the environment in the cities of Ufa and Blagoveshchensk, Bashkir ASSR," and the USSR Council of Ministers 10 January 1991 ruling no. 89 r.

2. That to provide financial and material and technical backup for these decisions the Russian Federation Ministry of the Economy and the Russian Federation Ministry of Fuel and Energy increase the quota of export deliveries for 1992 for oil and output produced by enterprises of the petroleum refining, petrochemical, and chemical industry on the territory of the Republic of Bashkortostan.

In forming the volumes of deliveries for the export of this output in 1993-1995 quotas must be established for enterprises of the Republic of Bashkortostan in quantities ensuring the fulfillment of the decisions envisaged in point 1 of this Decree.

3. That it be established that in 1992 some 75 percent of the currency revenue from the export of the output of enterprises situated on the territory of the Republic of Bashkortostan remain at the disposal of the Republic of Bashkortostan Council of Ministers and the enterprises producing this output as a targeted currency fund.

The Russian Federation Ministry of Finances in conjunction with the Republic of Bashkortostan Council of Ministers must establish control over the targeted use of money from this fund for the fulfillment of measures in accordance with point 1 of this Decree.

In this connection the licenses for the export of output within the established quotas are issued by a decision of the Republic of Bashkortostan Council of Ministers with their subsequent registration through a fully empowered representative of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations in the Republic of Bashkortostan.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin, Moscow, Kremlin, 27 February 1992

On Kemerov Hard Currency

OW1103011592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2015 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Interfax Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Three fourths of all 1992 hard currency proceeds from the export of goods produced in the Kemerov

region will be turned over to the regional administration. Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed an order to this effect March 7.

The order states that some of the hard currency resources remaining in the region will be allocated for developing of raw-materials enterprises, increasing production of consumer goods, and improving the supply of food to the region's inhabitants.

The Kuznetsk coal basin located in the Kemerov region is one of Russia's largest suppliers of coke coal. The region is also a main center of social strain in Russia, and has faced several mass strikes.

Yeltsin's 'Moderate Authoritarianism' Reviewed

924C0835A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 9 Mar 92 p 2

["Abridged reprint" of S. Shelin's article from the CHAS PIK newspaper under the "Political Portrait" rubric: "B. Yeltsin, Intelligentsia and Dictatorship"]

[Text] The cliches used when speaking of Yeltsin—a "populist," a "ratings man"—may not be exactly wrong but definitely are off the point. The cliche of populism assumes the notion of the people as a thoughtless monster that lives by instincts and can only love leaders-demagogues who indulge it. However, predictions based on this model have yet to come true. Both the people and the leaders have turned out to be more complex. There are no consistent populists even among the most people-loving politicians. Populism ended up being only one of the political methods, used along with others.

Yeltsin cannot be a 100-percent populist—if only because he is a man of action. Unlike people of words who live in the world of speeches and paper resolutions, he wants to see the results of his work, whether it is the Russian state or cheap sausage. Hence the tough economic reforms he has sanctioned.

WHOM TO FOLLOW?

Another quality that for some reason is held against him is anti- intellectualism. In our country, there is still a strong faith in intellectuals, that is, the people who professionally work with ideas and can talk smoothly. In the rest of the world, these illusions were discarded a long time ago. It is obvious that intellectualism is not a sign of intellect, and even less so of wisdom. The proportion of intelligent and stupid people is probably the same among intellectuals and nonintellectuals. In politics, however, a stupid intellectual is far more dangerous than an ordinary fool because he has a much greater opportunity to get people to follow him.

Intellectual idiots have already caused much damage in our politics and will do even more in the future. It is not accidental that an average American as a rule votes for someone like him when electing a president. So if in the eyes of a Russian his own president does not look like a man who will be able to outsmart him, it only proves that Yeltsin falls within the world standard.

ONE HEAD IS GOOD...

Another proof of this appropriateness is his skill in attracting intellectuals to his service. A little more than a year ago Yeltsin even created a consultative council consisting of top flight intellectuals, and used to say publicly that each one of them is smarter than he is. In reality, he did not listen all that often to their pontifications, but the principle of respect for knowledge had been proclaimed. In November of last year it was put into practice as well—in the shape of the current government, put together on the principle of competency. Interestingly, Gorbachev—who liked very much the company of career intellectuals and was himself, one may say, an intellectual of the sixties—would not let them come close to administration, relying wholly on bureaucrats-practitioners. Therefore, an attempt to replace nomenklatura "practitioners" with specialists—rare not only in Soviet but also in Russian history—will certainly go on record, even if it does not last long.

The most difficult part is to answer the question about Yeltsin's convictions. He has changed them many times, and on this basis there is frequent guessing as to what changes may occur in the future—in the direction of nationalism, perhaps? On the other hand, everybody had been changing convictions. A certain naivete and clumsiness that accompanied Yeltsin's transformations have only been in his favor, creating an impression of a sincere revision of viewpoints.

STILL, A LEADER?

In a certain sense, however, sincerity or insincerity are not all that important, since by itself a periodic revision of viewpoints is part of a role obligation he has intuitively or consciously chose for himself. His role is that of an authoritarian leader, not too tightly tied with political movements, but with a steadfast charisma and fairly flexible in relation to both people and ideas.

Of course, a rigid authoritarian regime, such as a Pinochet type, does not, and right now cannot exist here. This requires a society more tolerant towards a dictatorship and at the same time more advanced socially and politically. An attempt to establish such a regime here leads to a collapse, as Z. Gamsakhurdia demonstrated so well. An attempt to introduce a normal democratic order would probably lead to the same result. True democracy or true dictatorship are options for our future—a near one perhaps. Today, however, a natural method of governing is moderate authoritarianism, which previously was practiced by Gorbachev and now, with a greater degree of success, is used by Yeltsin.

He relies on the state apparatus and popular love, and in politics—on as wide a range of forces as possible. He does not get involved too tightly with either, giving the right and the left an opportunity to fight for themselves. Hence the cliques clamoring around the presidential

chair and the numerous changes of favorites and partners. At the same time, major presidential decisions have been aimed at modernizing the country and bringing it closer to the world community.

What course Yeltsin will follow in the future cannot be predicted with certainty, because unpredictability is one of his game rules. Let us note, however, that unlike Gorbachev, who usually turned out worse than his supporters anticipated, Yeltsin more often behaves better in critical moments than he is expected to.

Burbulis Eyes 17 Mar 'Symbol' of Confrontation

LD0903134892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1842 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Interview with Gennadiy Eduardovich Burbulis, Russian state secretary and first deputy prime minister of the Russian Government, by correspondent Aleksandr Shashkov; place and date not given—live or recorded; from the "Facing Russia" program]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Shashkov] It is customary to give gifts as well as congratulations on a holiday. Has the government any gift for our women?

[Burbulis] Our main gift is that the government continues to implement a complex program of reforms and that it is confident that the final goal it chooses is the right one. One of this week's achievements is that we can report to our esteemed Russian people that the memorandum on the Russian state's economic policy, which is supported by the world community, has been finally interpreted and approved. This means that nobody can doubt any more whether we will manage or not and whether we are clever and brave enough to proceed along this difficult road of transformation.

During this week we have been engaged in a persistent search for additional incentives for economic activity in the localities, at the same time taking care to revive contractual ties between enterprises. We have dealt in the most serious way with preparations for the sowing campaign and at the same time with the harvest campaign, taking into account the fact that different areas of Russia have different conditions in this crucial economic year.

Finally, we have been summing up the results of the budget. The latest session of the government was directly devoted to a draft budget of the Russian Federation for 1992 and for the second quarter. We are to submit it to the Supreme Soviet this week, and at the same time we will defend it and examine it jointly with the Supreme Soviet.

The point is that while maintaining our aim of producing a thrifty budget, a strict budget—in a good economic sense of that word—we can concentrate in the future on three main principles.

They are: First, a further reduction of expenditure on armaments and on military equipment. We can say that our program envisages a reduction of almost one third in this sphere. At the same time, we will continue to follow the principle of redistributing these budgetary means for conversion and for the social protection of the people working at these enterprises.

Second, we are interested in offering our economic entities a government policy which would provide incentives to them. We are aware that it is impossible to talk about a fruitful outcome of any reform if the economic producer fails to get fully on his feet.

Third and finally, we intend to implement, equally resolutely, a program of social protection for the population which keeps ahead of needs. [passage omitted]

Each and every one of us is called upon to find professional skills in ourselves, to develop our knowledge and skills, and to enter the labor market with dignity, knowing the laws of this market and attaining appropriate results.

[Shashkov] But Gennadiy Eduardovich, the question arises of the categories of people who have to adapt to the new conditions, who are working in organizations financed out of the budget. I understand that the government does not intend to increase spending on these budget-sector organizations.

[Burbulis] That is not the case. As we are obliged to do, we will most certainly establish conformity, where the pay and incomes of employees of budget-funded organizations are concerned, with the same economic rates, including prices for consumer goods, which have been forecast. We have a different problem here. From the point of view of our government program, we can say that there will be no overlooking, no squeezing out, no forgetting of this area. We are convinced that the crucial sector is that in which the decisions taken on social protection are being implemented in practice. [passage omitted]

[Shashkov] The campaign the government has launched against corruption is doubtless connected with this?

[Burbulis] For us, this is no mere show, not a campaign, but a conclusion derived from the experience of the current moment. I want to assure all citizens of the Russian Federation that the government will tackle this on a daily basis. It is our job to demonstrate that the president and his comrades in arms are called upon to defend every citizen and the public in the Russian Federation from organized crime, from corruption, from bribe-taking, and from law-breaking, which is getting out of control. And so for us, it is not so much the fight against someone that is important, but the full-blooded protection of citizens of the Russian Federation against these evils. Today, this protection is to a greater degree related to a precise understanding of the dimensions of

this contagion, to the ways in which that contagion is engendered, and to the specific structures in which it develops and operates.

For this very reason, at our working meeting yesterday, we joined together practically all the structures of power which to one degree or another regulate and supervise and are responsible for this process. That means the customs, the foreign intelligence service, the security service, the Interior Ministry, the Tax Inspectorate, the Justice Ministry—where a new quality of the judicial structure of power is demanded of us—the procuracy, the mass media, and those directly employed by the state.

There is a very important point here. Today, we must find all possible resources to ensure the protection and enhance the prestige of those serving the state when reforms are being implemented on the present scale. No one can work to his full potential today for an average state salary, when he is every day tempted to some degree to resort to economic malpractice.

[Shashkov] You said at the beginning that last week you were dealing with the problems of agriculture. One gets the impression that agriculture is now becoming a battle zone. [passage omitted]

[Burbulis] Yes, and we can feel this by the way the opponents of reform are stepping up their activity, and by the way the champions of traditional agriculture in Russia are stepping up their activities, among managers, local authorities, and deputies at various levels. Yes, that's quite true. But on the other hand, we also have something to fall back on.

In particular, it seems to me that the work and the program of our government and president, the decisions taken by Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin], and the determination and action with which Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy has embarked on the private farming sector, can help very substantially indeed. Shokhin and I had a four-hour working meeting with Vice President Rutskoy in which he told us about his fairly comprehensive scheme in this very important sector. This is wholly in accord with the government's program, and was expounded at the Supreme Soviet. That is to say, we have a professional, moral, and professional backup.

In the second place, we have no intention of making any concessions on the substance of the matter. We are aware of the need for extreme care when making transformations in the countryside, but we must in no way prevaricate or be forced to retreat. Yes, the collective and state farms which have proved themselves to be efficient and which are today tackling economic tasks will remain, will be preserved, and can be reorganized, taking account of their interests and of the conditions in which they operate. At the same time, we have in two months almost doubled the number of peasant private farms in Russia—today there are 53,000. [passage omitted]

[Shashkov] In general, one gets the impression that a sort of spring offensive against the government has begun. Big demonstrations and rallies will, to judge by all events, be held in Moscow on 17 March, and there will be an attempt to convene a congress of USSR deputies. And the government will evidently have no easy time of it at the forthcoming Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation. How would you describe the current sociopolitical situation?

[Burbulis] First of all, I want to object categorically to one of your definitions. The offensive is not against the government. The offensive is against sovereignty, against independence, and against the regeneration of Russia, in the sense that all our opponents, from the consciously communist to the aggressively revanchist, ultimately, one way or another, intend to defend the old communist Soviet system in which Russia as such did not exist. It is very important for us all to know and understand this. Today, it is not Yeltsin, not his government, but Russia that they intend to confront. And they are taking revenge with respect to the repressive Soviet and communist system and to that emerging free Russia which will emerge and will carry through its reforms, despite their efforts. That is what is important. But the realities of the day are indeed very interesting. Positions in society are crystallizing.

We are growing increasingly convinced that there is a very strong category that can be called the conscious supporters of reforms and change in Russia, which is totally committed to its full-blooded regeneration and to progress, and a second group, the conscious opponents of reforms in Russia, totally committed to the preservation of the communist system with all its temptations, with all its vices, and with all its tragic results. Those are the poles. And 17 March has been chosen precisely as a symbol of this confrontation.

I think Russians already have enough proof of what we have had and what we have been, should the past suddenly return for some reason or other. And despite all the difficulties of our work, and perhaps the odd awkwardness or mistake, there is already sufficient evidence that our program is an appeal to every person to become a full-fledged free citizen and not just raw material for politicians to make use of as they will.

We are worried about 17 March. We would like measures to be taken that will indicate to everybody the authority of Russia, but in such a way that this authority will be seen to be both strong and yet at the same time thoughtful and understanding; in this way, reliance on it would not be weakness. That is difficult to achieve.

We are willing to persuade, we are willing to invite everyone to work jointly on the reforms. Furthermore, we are convinced that there is nothing more important today than civic peace and national accord in Russia. We are willing to stop confronting people who were once important. We have so much to do and we have such highly complex and interesting and promising work. Let

us all get involved in it together. Such things have happened in our history on several occasions.

At the same time, we also have no intention of permitting endless insults against the authorities, of permitting all kinds of public actions that discredit them and which are, for the most part, anticonstitutional. That is our attitude to this matter. In my view, the really convincing thing is that most people understand this very well. Among those who are gathering forces for 17 March, I would distinguish between sincere, convinced, and, in their own way, honest people, who still do not understand what kind of social system we used to deal with, and those who, for a variety of reasons, still see themselves in reality as communist.

But those who are cynically profiting by our problems today, who derive for themselves the greatest pleasure from this political and historical confrontation—they continue to regard people, as they did in the past and will continue to do in the future, as something to be used, as raw material, and they delight in seeing more and more conflicts between them, and so on. That is my opinion about those who intend to demonstrate on 17 March their opposition to the reforms today in Russia.

Burbulis Launches Anticorruption Initiative

PM1103094992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Vladimir Nadein: "New Extraordinary Commission Mooted for Fight Against Bribes"]

[Text] The mercenariness of Russia's state apparatus has acquired a scale eclipsing even the sins of the far from irreproachable Communist bureaucrats. Gennadiy Burbulis, first vice premier of the Federation cabinet, called the fight against corruption and organized crime an "emergency issue of Russian state policy."

As an ITAR-TASS correspondent reported, all cabinet members, including the leadership of the Security Ministry, the Internal Affairs Ministry, the foreign intelligence service, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Committee for the Defense of Russia's Economic Interests, were summoned to a conference held on Saturday [7 March].

Gennadiy Burbulis recognized that "corruption has reached unprecedented proportions" and that this reflects very seriously on the government's reputation. The extortion of bribes has long been done openly, thus engendering widespread skepticism in respect of those called upon to combat bribery.

Responding to this mood, G. Burbulis has set a task: "The population must feel that the president and government have 'authoritative muscle,' which we can use in this fight."

What, then, has been proposed for the flexing of the government's muscles? First, to hold similar conferences every week. Second, to work out the legal bases of state employees' activity in order to "eradicate the temptation to take back-handers," including among the highest-ranking officials. Third, to pay particular attention to questions of the use of very costly military property abroad. Fourth, to investigate the "traditionally bad" spheres of the export of oil, diamonds, emeralds, and gold.

Fifth, corruption must not be allowed to flourish during the state property privatization process currently under way in Russia.

The conference did not pay particular attention to the need to abide by the letter of the law in the fight against bribery. Given the wish to "flex muscles," this is perfectly natural. However, the sorry experience of the nationwide fight against unearned income proves just how ineffective the actual results of any extraordinary commission can be.

The similarity between the weekly conferences—proposed by the first vice premier—and the extraordinary commissions, which treat the law without any particular respect [allusion to the Cheka—Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage—the forerunner of GPU, OGPU, NKVD, and KGB], is heightened in the light of G. Burbulis' proposal that these conferences should examine "specific cases linked to corruption." If this proposal by the government's second-in-command after Boris Yeltsin is implemented, then the activity of court organs could be seriously complicated.

Procurator General on Corruption, Tatarstan

LD1003223792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent A. Lutskoy] Mikhail Gorbachev and other former members of the Politburo will have to give evidence in the case of the Party funds, Russian Procurator General Valentin Stepankov said at a news conference today. In response to questions from journalists regarding the trial date for the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, Stepankov suggested that the trial would not take place before September. He said that the extreme difficulty in maintaining procuracy supervision in Tatarstan and Chechenia was a major problem. The procurator general also stated that there is a possibility that criminal charges will be brought against those former USSR people's deputies who are destabilizing the political situation in society.

[Begin recording] [Lutskoy] What can you say about trends in violations of legislation?

[Stepankov] Today we are forced to notice that local oblast soviets and heads of administration have begun to

violate Russian laws too often, primarily at the local level. It is for this reason that procuracy bodies are currently trying to establish a uniform legality throughout the territory of the Russian Federation. [end recording]

[Announcer] Russian Procurator General Stepankov also said that he considers the decision of the Tatar kurultay to create a national guard and to hold a referendum on the future of Tatarstan on 21 March to be illegal. Stepankov is planning to question the parliamentary immunity of Fauziya Bayramova, leader of the Ittifak Party [Tatar Independence Party], and to bring criminal charges against her for fanning national dissent, the RIA agency reported today.

Denies Cheka 'in the Works'

OW1103004792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2015 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Interfax Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In a news conference Tuesday [10 March] Russia's chief public prosecutor Valentin Stepankov denied widespread rumors that the creation of a "new Cheka" (the Cheka was the KGB's predecessor) is in the works to purge government organizations. Mr. Stepankov added that he was publicly calling on the government and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet officially to dissociate themselves from commercial structure created on their initiative and with their assistance.

Warns of Upcoming Congress

LD1003230692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Procurator Valentin Stepankov warned at a news conference today that the convocation of a Congress of former USSR People's Deputies planned for 17 March at which new false Dmitriys and false Gorbachevs may appear, may be considered as an attempt at creating new authority by unconstitutional means. The procurator general stressed that the political situation which is being whipped up by a group of former Union People's Deputies is capable of outgrowing the boundaries of criminal responsibility.

Burbulis Chairs Council for Settling Conflicts

LD1003020992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1856 GMT 9 MAr 92

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The first meeting was held today of the Council for Analyzing Critical Situations and Draft Government Decisions attached to the government of the Russian Federation, which was set up by the Russian president's decree of 2 March.

The meeting was opened and chaired by G. E. Burbulis, state secretary and first deputy chairman of the government. The meeting considered interethnic and ethnic relations being formed in the republic today, specified strategic and tactical provisions of the national policy, and exposed risk zones and reasons for possible conflicts between various regions of the country and between nations and ethnic groups populating them. It was stressed that the present acute situation regarding conflicts is a direct result of the strict totalitarian system, of the total suppression of the independence and consciousness of nations, and of certain policies of genocide deliberately conducted by the center for over 70 years.

The meeting defined constructive measures for settling the most acute conflicts, worked out prerequisites for achieving civil peace and national accord in Russia, and found the closest fundamental theoretical provisions on the basis of which it will be possible in the future to work out a common coordinated national policy and the national revival of Russia. Those gathered thoroughly analyzed the regional economy, industrial links between territories, and a search for coordinated actions in this direction.

Academicians of the Russian Academy of Sciences V. L.Makarov, Yu. S. Osipov, N. Ya. Petrakov, and Yu. V. Yeremenko; corresponding members N. A. Kuznetsov, A. A. Petrov, G. I. Savin, and V. S. Stenin; doctors of science F. M. Borodkin, N. F. Gladkovskiy, and V. A. Yadov, who are members of the council, took part in the meeting. The council which will be headed by academician N. N. Moiseyev.

State advisors of the Russian Federation A. G. Granberg, Ye. F. Lakhov, S. B. Stankevich, and A. V. Yablokov took part in the work of the Council for Analyzing Critical Situations and Draft Government Decisions.

Burbulis Analyzes Past Two Months in Economy

PM1003095592 Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Mar 92 p 2

[Article by G. Burbulis, state secretary and first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government, under the "Russian Government Viewpoint" rubric: "Reforms Irreversible"]

[Text] Two difficult months of the economic reform are behind us now. Analyzing this period, I would like to focus attention not just on the initial economic results (for example, the clearly marked trend of the strengthening and recovery of the ruble) but also on the most important political aspect: The vast majority of Russians have an interest in the economic transformations that are being carried out and support the president and the government in the implementation of the main course. Take, for instance, the stabilization of the ruble. I want to stress that the credit for this belongs not just to the

government. It is also fully to the credit of all Russians, who have avoided an acute emotional reaction to the rigorous measures which had to be taken to prevent the printing of worthless money to achieve an imaginary prosperity.

The emphasis is now switching to work in the regions, territories, enterprises, and sectors. We see this not only as the current task, it is also dictated by an acute need for the formation of a stable management system.

Local organs of power have quite a few levers whereby they can effectively influence the situation, including prices, which must correspond to local conditions and the population's potential. One of the reform's main tasks is to ensure the real autonomy of the regions and territories and grant them the corresponding rights.

The further the reform goes, the greater the fuss its opponents try to make. They are becoming active largely because the difficulties the reforms are increasingly becoming irreversible. A revolution is taking place in society and in people's consciousness: Freedom and the values of a civilized world are conquering the mentality of slavery and parasitism.

People are increasingly realizing that the president is proposing what is surely the only possible way out of the situation that we inherited from the totalitarian state. This way out is not to wait passively for another miracle to happen in one, two, or five months. No, this concerns an appeal to every Russian: Find your own place and display your own activeness and enterprise. By taking trouble to ensure your own well-being you can become more actively involved in implementing the reform program. There have already been improvements. In just two months the number of private peasant farms in Russia has practically doubled.

We can see that in working regions (especially Vorkuta and the Kuzbass) most of the population have an incentive in advancing more quickly along the path of reforms and developing the privatization process by creating the conditions for autonomous economic activity.

In this context we can see more clearly the answer to the question of the threat allegedly presented by the conscious opponents of the reform (including frank revanchists who from the outset oppose all transformations achieved by the Russians through much effort. I think that this threat is being greatly exaggerated.

Questions of social support for those in urgent need occupy a special place in the government's activity. I shall cite only the most recent government measures in this sphere. Decisions have been adopted to pay allowances of 200 rubles [R] to pensioners, to make payments for children, and to provide protection for servicemen and their families. The president has signed a decree on the need to calculate the subsistence minimum.

One definite result of our work was the drafting of a Russian Government memorandum setting out the basic guidelines of economic policy. I have to say that some provisions of the memorandum are recommendatory in character and are draft proposals. Therefore the publication of the memorandum does not mean an unconditional demand in the future to implement everything completely unaltered. This applies in particular to the concept of wages which worries many people. There have been and are no restrictions on wages. But we will try to link wages to concrete results and the economic activity of enterprises. It is important to prevent abuses in this sphere by the artificial inflation of wages while reducing labor productivity and end results.

In conclusion let me say that the government is greatly concerned by the continuing decline in production. The reasons lie largely in the basic conditions of economic management which we inherited in 1990-1991. Our task is to ensure support for those sectors and enterprises which are today crucial in the chain of economic ties and to accelerate as much as possible the transition to new forms of management of all remaining enterprises.

There are quite a few difficulties in store for us. But the main thing is that movement along the road leading to a civilized world has already begun.

Komov Says Land Reform 'Gathering Speed'

LD1003174892 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 10 ITAR-TASS—Land reform in Russia is slowly gathering speed, according to the Chairman of the Land Reform and Land Resources Committee in the Russian Federation Government Nikolay Komov. For example, the number of private agricultural farm owners in Russia has exceeded 76 thousand, and is increasing on an average of over ten thousand per year [as received], he told ITAR-TASS. They have been allocated over three million hectares of land. In the Russian Federation there are 211 million hectares of agricultural land, out of which 130 million hectares are arable. And by the end of 1992 there will be over 150 thousand such farms, Komov predicted.

In the past, while registering land ownership documents, the interested person had to knock on door after door, even to appeal to Moscow for help. Now, according to Komov, this process has been simplified and expedited, thanks to the creation of local land reform and land resources committees with additional powers. Now it is sufficient to apply to the local administration and the land reform committee, and the ownership question will be decided within a month.

However, according to Komov, private farmers alone cannot feed the country. This will be done by private farmers, private farm owners' associations, agricultural joint-stock enterprises, collective farms, state farms and owners of subsidiary small-holdings together. The subsidiary small-holding owners produce about 20 per cent of the milk, 30 per cent of the meat, over 60 per cent of the potatoes and up to 50 per cent of the fruits and

berries. Collective and state farms were and will continue to be the main producers of agricultural products, the chairman of the land reform committee said.

Distribution of land among villagers and city-dwellers is being implemented at a very slow pace, among whom there are many former armed forces personnel and people who have worked in the Russian North. Conflicts break out at one or the other place, demanding the administration's intervention, he admitted.

Even then, in spite of prevailing opposition, 14 million families have received garden and land plots for domestic cattle and to grow vegetables. Among them 12 million are city-dwellers. According to Komov, at present Russia's stock of land is 13 million hectares. Another 26 million hectares have been transferred under the jurisdiction of town (settlement) councils. Thus, suitable conditions have been created so that every city-dweller or villager, who wants a plot of land, receives one.

According to the chairman of the committee, the revenue rates will be finalised in the near future, depending on the fertility of the land on the Cadastre basis. Nominal sums will be collected from those who produce agricultural products. Land owners in cities and city type settlements will be treated differently. On the whole, land revenues will add about 35 billion rubles to budgets on all levels, out of which 30 billion will be from cities and city type settlements, Komov said.

Panel Discusses Proposed Price Increases

LD0903203892

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English at 2330 GMT on 6 March carries an 18-minute "Top Priority" program on proposed price rises in Russia.

Correspondent Irina Tkachenko chairs the discussion which includes Dr. Aleksandr Bykov, from the Institute for International Economic and Political Studies, and Aleksandr Birse, a economist from the U.S. and Canada Studies Institute in Moscow. Tkachenko asks why the government has gone back on its promise to maintain control on prices of staple foods. Birse says they set too ambitious goals for eliminating the budget deficit at a rate unprecedented in world practice. Bykov says governments always try to solve their problems at the expense of the people but the current government is more extreme in this respect than even the Stalinist methods after World War II. It is trying to apply monetarist recipes that have never been realized in any country, including the United States.

Birse and Bykov agree they do not have much choice but Bykov still considers a step-by-step approach as possible. Birse does not agree this approach is feasible, the government's main mistake was to act as a central government instead of delegating more control to regions.

Tkachenko asks how mass unrest has been avoided. Bykov says the government blames all the problems on bolsheviks; it is an abuse of people's tolerance. Birse says the population is deeply disillusioned with communism and puts all its hopes on the market approach so they still have trust, although it is declining. Last year, too, for a period of three months, people were able to accumulate reserves of foodstuffs, which they are now eating, but time is running out. Bykov says the West is in recession and unable to give substantial help so he sees no way out of the current crisis but Birse thinks there will be enough Western aid to kick start the Russian economy, which can be stabilized by raw materials exports.

Oil Shortfall Blamed on Central Control

OW0903180892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1621 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of the Russian State Corporation "Rosneftegaz" Lev Churilov has said that the target of 400 million tons [as received] of oil in 1992 may fail to be met, if the oil production decline of 20 thousand tons a day will continue up to the end of the year. In this case only 360 million tons of oil will be produced, which may upset plans to sell 60 million tons of crude abroad and another 100 million tons to the former Soviet republics.

Lev Churilov has blamed the crisis in the oil industry on the lack of central control. He is for restoring the vertical structure of the industry for at least the transitional period. He believes that the price rise from 350 rubles to 2200-2500 rubles a ton planned by the government will only partially ease the situation.

Report on Norwegian Border Commander 'Refuted'

LD1003203992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1901 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Military News" section: "Alarm System at Norwegian Border Won't Be Disconnected"]

[Text] Moscow [dateline as received]—Alarm systems will not be disconnected in any sector of the Northwestern border district.

On March 10, Andrey Aleshin, an officer from press-service of the committee on protecting state borders, refuted Russian TV's information concerning a threat by a border unit's chief to switch off the alarm system in his sector of CIS-Norwegian border in case Russian Federation's Government fails to adopt measures on border-guards' social protection.

According to Aleshin, the idea of disconnecting alarm systems was introduced by a chief of a rear post, located dozens of kilometers away from the border, at the assembly of Nikel border posts' chiefs, at the end of February. The idea has been refuted by the officers and

representatives of High Command of Northwestern border district, who were present at the training assembly.

Soldiers Polled on Living Standards, Tensions

PM0903162392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Mar 92 p 1

[Report by Colonel F. Makarov, head of department at the Armed Forces Center for Military-Sociological, Psychological, and Legal Research: "Eighty-Four Percent of Servicemen Believe That Social Tension Is Growing. Data From the Latest Sociological Research in the Armed Forces"]

[Text] The Armed Forces Center for Military-Sociological, Psychological, and Legal Research carried out a poll in February of this year among cadre military personnel. Their attitude to the sociopolitical and socioeconomic situation in society and the Army was studied. A total of 1,200 officers and warrant officers from formations and units of all branches of the Armed Forces and categories of troops were polled. The poll was carried out in 10 garrisons located throughout the territory of the Russian Federation.

Analysis of the results obtained enables us to draw conclusions about the stratification of the cadre military personnel's sociopolitical orientation and their mixed attitudes to the socioeconomic processes taking place in society and the army and the rise in social tension in the Armed Forces.

According to those polled, economic reform is insufficiently purposeful and has come to a standstill with price liberalization, although it must be taken further. Only 17 percent of those polled support the government's activity, whereas 56 percent do not approve of it. The servicemen's position can be explained by a fall in their living standards (90 percent of those polled note a fall in living standard compared with last year), and by a lack of confidence in the implementation of the measures proposed by the president of the Russian Federation to resolve the servicemen's material and everyday problems.

Society's attitude to the army remains positive on the whole, according to those polled, but 36 percent of servicemen observe a deterioration in mutual relations with the local population.

A total of 39 percent of those polled noted that conflicts between the command of military units and local civilian authorities are quite possible, and eight percent noted that these are already occurring. This is prompted in many respects by the generally difficult economic situation and the problems that are piling up on the local authorities and the garrisons.

Certain sociopolitical movements' concern about the possibility of a military coup is not being confirmed. The majority of those polled (90 percent) are of the view that the military should not run the country, and give preference to professional politicians, economists, and economic leaders in this respect. The army should not become involved in a struggle for power or be drawn into resolving political issues by force.

A total of 84 percent of the servicemen share the view that social tension is growing in society, and they do not rule out the possibility of spontaneous mass actions in this connection. The participants in the poll see the main reasons that could evoke these as a general fall in living standards among the population (82 percent), interruptions in the supply of food products (51 percent), and the rapid stratification of society into rich and poor (44 percent).

Cadre service personnel expressed mixed reactions concerning the Russian president's initiative on reducing the Armed Forces by 700,000 men. This decision is completely or partially supported by 47 percent of those polled, and 43 percent of servicemen had a negative reaction to it; of these 35 percent assessed it as "absolutely wrong." Disapproval of this proposal was prompted by the following factors: a lack of conviction that it has been sufficiently worked on with military specialists; concern that the troops' (fleets') combat readiness will decline; and uncertainty about the real social protection of cadre service personnel being released into the reserve.

According to the majority of cadre service personnel (76 percent), the division of the Armed Forces could lead to the emergence of conflicts between the armed forces of the independent Commonwealth states and the possibility of servicemen finding themselves in the armies of opposing states.

The decline in prestige of military service in society, the deterioration in servicemen's social and everyday living conditions, and a lack of confidence in the future are leading to a change in the social orientation of officers and warrant officers. Interest in market structures and questions of privatization has risen among them, and the desire to be involved in the new economic relations has strengthened. At the same time, the vagueness over normatives governing property for cadre service personnel is placing them in an ambiguous position. According to those polled, the required standard of living must be ensured for families of servicemen, and only then can they be "banned from participation in commercial activity." If the state is not in a position to ensure such a standard of living, officers and warrant officers must be allowed to earn additional money in some way.

The poll showed that the army is still pinning hopes on the wisdom of politicians, does not want to participate in political battles, and is convinced that, without society's assistance, the Armed Forces are not in a position to cope with their problems.

Supreme Soviet

Parliament Committee Reviews Civilian Defense

LD1103054692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 10 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—"We now have a unique opportunity, a unique chance, to place the military department and the Army under civilian and parliamentary control. Such a chance should not be missed." This was stated today at a meeting of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Committee for Defense and Security by Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov, the Russian president's state adviser for defense questions. Volkogonov also noted that "only a civilian defense ministry will be able to resolve the problem of the demilitarization of the country and the reduction of the numerical strength of the armed forces. Therefore it is necessary to come out in favor of the creation in Russia of a civilian military department and to entrust it with forming the country's armed forces. To this end it is necessary to prepare the legal groundwork and to conduct negotiations with the governments of the CIS states, and then to create a Russian army."

Taking part in the meeting, which was conducted by committee Chairman Sergey Stepashin, were representatives of Russia's State Committee for Defense Matters and of the chief legal directorate, parliamentarians, and experts. Draft documents drawn up by the State Committee for Defense Matters and by the Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security regarding the creation in Russia of a civilian defense ministry, a republican army, and the military policy of Russia were examined and approved. A decision was made to prepare a draft decision of Russia's parliament on the establishment of a civilian defense ministry. These documents will be handed over for examination and approval by the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet and the parliament session scheduled for 26 March.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by Ph.D. Vitaliy Kovalevskiy, head of a department of the State Committee for Defense Matters, that the committee's view is that, together with the decision on the establishment of the armed forces of Russia, it is necessary to announce that all military units and military establishments of the armed forces of the former Union—except for those stationed in Ukraine—are taken under its jurisdiction. However, a few participants in the meeting proposed restraint on this step. Kovalevskiy also noted that a package of documents prepared by the high command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces for the forthcoming CIS summit meeting also was discussed today.

Rejects CIS Defense Drafts

LD1103023492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committee for defense and security issues rejected during its Tuesday [10 March] meeting 10 draft agreements on defense issues it was planning to discuss at the conference of the Commonwealth heads of states in Kiev on 20 March. These documents were submitted by the CIS Joint Armed Forces high command.

In an exclusive interview for INTERFAX, Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the parliamentary committee, stated that this decision was based primarily on the unclear status of the CIS as a subject of international law and, second, by the fact that the Russian Federation has no ministry of defense or its own armed forces. In Stepashin's words, the parliamentary committee will recommend to the president of Russia that he propose in Kiev on 20 March that the Commonwealth countries sign an agreement on establishing a military-political alliance.

Resolution on Aid to Servicemen Adopted

LD1003042992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] A resolution on aid to officers, noncommissioned officers, and regular servicemen released to the reserves because of Armed Forces cutbacks has been adopted at a 9 March session of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium. In accordance with this document, categories of servicemen and officials of security bodies finding themselves in a similar position due to the cuts will be given aid in setting up peasant's or farmer's smallholdings or agricultural cooperatives.

Ponomarev on Commission To Investigate CPSU

OW0603213192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1912 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of the parliamentary inquiry into last August's coup attempt Lev Ponomarev believes that the commission should be transformed into a commission to investigate the CPSU's role in establishing a totalitarian regime in the former Soviet Union. He expressed this point of view at a news conference held on Friday [6 March] in Moscow. He said it was necessary to go on investigating the reasons and circumstances of the coup. He said that the commission could help democratically-minded people being persecuted in remote regions of the country. Many of those who criticized local officials for supporting the emergency committee are being victimized now, after these officials have been acquitted.

The deputy chairman of the parliamentary defence committee Vladimir Lopatin said that no military reform

was being carried out in the Armed forces. He emphasized the necessity to establish an effective political and legal control over the Army.

Lev Ponomarev added that the Army played a more important role in the CIS than in the East European countries, where sweeping military reforms had been implemented just after the gentle revolutions. He was quoted as saying : "We expected a new coup on February 9 or 23. We still expect it on March 17 and we will expect it until dramatic changes in the Armed Forces are undertaken".

Nomenklatura Said To 'Sabotage' Reforms

PM1003114192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Mar 92 First Edition p 2

[Article by Robert Minasov: "The Nomenklatura Prepares To Take Revenge"]

[Text] A news conference has been held in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Press Center which has, without exaggeration, provoked a flurry of excitement in journalistic circles.

The news conference was conducted by Vladimir Varov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Subcommittee on Political Reform, and Aleksandr Sobyanin and Dmitriy Yuryev, experts from the "RF-Politika" analytical center.

Journalists' interest was kindled by some sensational articles prepared by this center and published in the press.

In an analytical note sent to Russian President Boris Yeltsin the center claims that, since the end of 1991, openly revanchist, pro-communist forces have drastically stepped up their activities. Everywhere legal, pseudo-underground, and underground structures of the former Communist Party nomenklatura are expanding. There are indications that 19 underground rayon committees of the "Communist Workers Party" have been set up in Chelyabinsk, and the creation of an obkom [oblast committee] is being prepared. On 9 February a rally was held by the "Working Chelyabinsk" movement, which has sprung from goodness knows where. In Moscow about 50,000 people (true, mainly manifest representatives of well off strata of the former regime) managed to assemble for a similar "event" under the fictitious name of the nonexistent "Working Moscow" organization. The "Coordinating Council of People's Patriotic Forces," set up in spring 1991 on the initiative of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee and nowadays headed by G. Zyuganov, has resumed work.

The apparatus of so-called independent trade unions has drastically stepped up its strike-provoking activities recently. In some regions there have been instances of workers being forced by trade unions to strike, including through threats of halting supplies, suspending production, and so forth. The most active and odious are actions by trade unions in Arkhangelsk and Irkutsk Oblasts, Maritime Kray, and in the Vorkuta and Kuzbass pits.

A system of "nomenklatura enclaves" inherited from Soviet times is actively forming and consolidating itself politically.

Alarming tendencies of this sort have recently emerged in extreme form not only in Tatarstan and Checheniya, but also in the milieu of the local (especially Russian) party (CPSU) leadership of Karelia, Siberia (Krasnoyarsk Kray, Omsk, and Tomsk), Kuban, the Volga region, the Urals, and Murmansk Oblast. There is a certain correlation between "separatist tendencies" with the strike activity of emissaries of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia.

The tiny Koryak Autonomous Okrug is demanding transformation into a republic. Sakha (Yakutia) is proclaiming the "privatization" of gold and diamonds.

At the same time it is the Soviet system of state and local administration, formed and cemented in place by the party nomenklatura, which is proving to be the backbone of regional separatism and political-economic opposition to reforms. Oblast (kray) soviet chairmen—in the overwhelming majority of cases former secretaries of the corresponding obkoms or heads of regional administrations—and representatives of the "party economic aktiv" in almost 80 percent of cases form a firm axis with the president's representatives who were appointed hastily recently and among whom often turn up persons dismissed from their posts in connection with the events of August. There are fake displays of "mass support" by the population for the most odious nomenklatura leaders (Chelyabinsk, Novgorod, Ulyanovsk); moreover, the population is frequently subjected to pure and simple food blackmail. In regions where the president's representatives, and especially heads of administration are trying to carry out reform policies, demonstrations of the mass discontent of the "public" (in the guise of the kolkhoz-factory leadership) are being incited.

We reproduce some of the statements made by the participants of the news conference.

V. Varov: The official power—not so much even the CPSU, but the party nomenklatura—has apparently left the arena. I stress: apparently. In actual fact it has moved into the structures of state power in the so-called center and at local level. In other words, we are witnessing today the process of party-nomenklatura revenge in various forms—primarily hidden forms. In other words, whereas the powers-that-be used to sit in their well-known party offices and control all and sundry, and control it illegally, today they are apparently almost always controlling things legally, but from different quarters. In fact, it sometimes happens that they control things from the same offices.

Recently, literally within the last few days, there was a small news story in the media about a draft presidential decree allegedly under preparation on denomenklaturization, envisaging the use of sanctions of a organizational and cadre character against virtually all former CPSU members.

In the version in which the story appeared in newspapers, I should stress that neither I, nor N. Fedorov, S. Shakray nor the others named in the story had anything to do with the compilation of this document.

Yes, we rigidly support the removal—not only juridically, by formal act, but also practically—of the former nomenklatura from power. In every sense, above all the cadre sense. Yes, we are uncompromisingly and rigidly advocating that there be a legislative—I emphasize, a legislative—ban on infiltration by secret agents, by what used to be known as the KGB, into the representative and legislative organs of power and the organs of state power in general, at both top and middle levels. But this stance of ours by no means extends to naming a huge army of communists. Before 1989 this army had reached almost 20 million. That would be frivolous, because many—let us speak bluntly—many of those sitting here were members of that organization.

A. Sobyanin: It was an acute feeling of alarm for the fate of the reforms, for the fate of the democratic transformations which brought us here. It was this feeling of alarm which compelled us as early as last fall to prepare a number of documents concerning the danger of the formation of a Boldin-style entourage [reference to former Gorbachev aide implicated in the August putsch] around the president. It was this which prompted us recently to send an analytical note to the government and the president, setting forth certain concrete facts.

Our fears are on many levels. On the one hand, we see the growing consolidation of the forces that were defeated in August, their organizational unification and their attempts to bring masses of people onto the streets with strike calls, and so forth. In other words, calls for direct action. On the other hand, the situation in the president's immediate entourage is contradictory. And third, the situation in the Supreme Soviet is causing great concern.

The deputies' corps, which has done so much to establish democracy, is at the present time in a state of confusion.

The situation at the local level is worrying, because in effect no change of power in the literal sense of the word took place in August. All real absolute power remained in the hands of the structures which were in power before August. The overwhelming majority of oblast soviets, and a significant—perhaps overwhelming—percentage of heads of administration are former chairmen of oblast soviet executive committees, representatives of the former system, with no objective interest in carrying out reforms and engaging in a whole series of actions aimed more or less clearly at torpedoing them.

V. Varov: I will cite a few examples for confirmation. Let us consider rayon and city administrations—Altay Kray. I will name only those who were at the level of first and second secretaries and who worked at a sufficiently high level in the party apparatus: 21 out of 77 are representatives of the former party apparatus—first and second raykom [rayon party committee] and gorkom [city party committee] secretaries. In Krasnodar Kray 31 of 58 are former party apparatchiks.

There are corresponding party nomenklatura positions in social organizations and in the organs of state power. And when we analyze the data, we are forced to note with great regret that in the majority of regions, and in the center as well, the party-state nomenklatura constitutes up to 70-80 percent, and in some regions, even more. Mukha—the former obkom secretary—heads Novosibirsk Oblast Administration. In Rostov Oblast, Chub was also obkom secretary. There are former first secretaries in eight rayons of Belgorod Oblast.

Unfortunately, we are forced to note that this tendency is also typical for Russia's top structures.

D. Yuryev: The President's decree on banning CPSU activity as an illegal and parallel state structure is in effect being violated. In other words, a whole system of legislative and normative acts, laws, and presidential decrees connected with the abolition of the juridical omnipotence of the nomenklatura is being violated.

The task we are setting ourselves is to destroy the illusion which has formed in the social consciousness today. The illusion that power has passed into the hands of new forces, that the concrete situation of political administration in the state has changed decisively, that democrats are now in power, and that the nomenklatura has been destroyed, crushed, and is merely resisting here and there somehow...

This is not how things stand at all. Yes, the nomenklatura era is probably over, but the nomenklatura system remains. The nomenklatura as a special socioprofessional group of employees in the administration of power and the distribution and control of property, as a special, particular socioprofessional group of people, bound by common political and economic interests. A group of people who retain, as has already been said, the key positions in all the organs of power and management in Russia, who retain 80-90 percent of concrete positions in concrete organs of power at all levels, who retain control over the economy and over land.

A paradoxical situation! The government and the president proclaim a course toward reforms, they proclaim a course toward entering the normal, civilized world. And in these reforms they gave been forced to rely on, and continue to rely on, a huge, ramified mass of people, whose most basic social, political, economic, and psychological interests are opposed to the aims of these reforms, and whose very existence is threatened by the pursuit of these reforms. Therefore it is absurd to suppose that a course of reforms relying on such people will

be successful. What we have dubbed the nomenklatura revenge is unfolding right now.

V. Varov: I wish to stress once again: In the final analysis, it is not a question of specific individuals. The issue is the system of activity of the power structure, sabotage. Sabotage, customary in the hinterland, is unfortunately being carried out rather intensively also in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Yekaterinburg, where actual party bosses hold up to 30 percent of power, and if we are talking about the party nomenklatura—a figure of 80 percent again.

With very great regret I must record the fact that this sabotage is being carried out in St. Petersburg. Everyday I receive various kinds of reports from there. Let me take, for example, one of the rayons where the president's decree on the privatization of trade and the consumer service sphere has been deliberately and systematically sabotaged for months on end. This is the region where the democrat Sobchak is the head of the administration. I know for sure that the leaders of the apparatus and the leaders of rayon administrations are as a rule the same first, second, and third secretaries of CPSU committees. Very often we hear: Professionals are needed, professionalism is needed. The question arises: What kind of professionals? Ones who did not know how to govern, and who continue not to know how to do so?

Further on Former USSR Congress' Legality

PM1103104592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Chugayev: "Attempt to Revive USSR Seriously Alarms Authorities in Russia"]

[Text] Opening a regular session of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium 9 March, Ruslan Khasbulatov urged all parliamentary factions and political parties to condemn the intention to hold an event which has been called a congress of USSR people's deputies in Moscow 17 March.

All the indications are that this political act—coupled with the rally of supporters of the socialist option and the re-creation of the USSR scheduled for the same day—is causing serious anxiety not only in the Russian parliament. As Ruslan Khasbulatov reported, many states which used to be USSR republics have voiced their concern at the attempts to hold this congress. Because no visible obstacles are being placed in the way of these attempts, there are even suggestions that the Russian leadership is deliberately encouraging the pro-imperial movement. The world public is also concerned.

It must be unambiguously understood, R. Khasbulatov stated, that we are dealing with an attempt to destabilize the political and economic situation in the country. A purely propaganda act—an attempt to elect a mythical head of a nonexistent state—the parliamentary speaker believes, could seriously undermine the Supreme Soviet's efforts aimed at achieving social peace and civil accord in society. Meanwhile, he stated—alluding to the 7 March session of the Constitutional Commission which approved in general the draft new Russian Constitution—a very important step has been taken on the path to achieving these objectives.

The Presidium session agenda did not feature a question relating to the events it is promised will be held in Moscow 17 March, but the discussion on this became one of the central episodes at the forum of Russian parliamentary leaders. In general the only reaction expressed was condemnation of the organizers of the rally and the congress; likewise, incidentally, nothing specific was proposed to minimize the possible tragic consequences of these events. Everyone agreed that the rally must not be banned: They will assemble where they want—that is, in Manezh Square—anyhow. Nobody wanted a repetition of the 23 February events (most likely multiplied several times over). But authorizing it to be held in the center of Moscow is also impossible. It's not just that a Manezh Square rally scheduled for the evening rush hour would violate tens, if not hundreds of thousands of citizens' right to move freely about. The main point is both the very idea behind it and the fact that the slogans are overtly anticonstitutional. And the organizers' intention to present the head of the USSR elected at the "congress" for confirmation by the rally participants was assessed by Konstantin Lubenchenko, former chairman of the Union parliament's Soviet of the Union, as the de facto planning of a coup d'etat.

The Moscow Government's idea of authorizing a rally, but in Luzhniki, was regarded as generally sensible but dubious in terms of feasibility.

In the course of these debates two announcements were made which provoked perplexity. The first was that the participants in the congress of USSR people's deputies intend to hold their event at the traditional venue—the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. None of the parliamentary leaders, nor Russian General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov, who was present at this point, were able to answer the question of how they managed to get the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. Moscow militia chief Arkadiy Murashev was unable to shed any light either. He could merely confirm that as a former Union deputy he has received an invitation to the congress and been given the address to which he was invited—none other than the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

The second announcement was that Moscow Military District command staff exercises will be held in the Moscow area at the same time as the rally and congress in Moscow. Incidentally Sergey Shakhray, representing the president, assured deputies that this is a chance coincidence—the exercises were planned way back—and the district command has invited parliamentarians to participate as monitors and observers. Special buses have been allocated for deputies for the duration of the exercises.

Of course, Presidium members expected concrete information about what will happen 17 March from Arkadiy Murashev. But he was cagy. He shared with deputies his fears that "aggressively inclined people will come to Manezh Square on that day and aggressive actions on their part cannot be ruled out." But sealing off the center is impossible—during the rush hour this could paralyze the capital and have totally unpredictable consequences. Arkadiy Murashev also announced that for his own part he is a supporter of maximum derestriction (this provides internal affairs agency with more room for maneuver), but a number of members of the Moscow Government have an extremely hard-line attitude toward the upcoming rally.

All this inevitably prompted suspicions that the authorities are frightened and impotent, but some of the things which Valentin Stepanovich hinted at made it possible to conclude that the authorities have the situation under control. The general prosecutor reported, in particular, that the law-enforcement agencies have formulated some kind of plan of action but it is secret and has been communicated only to the Supreme Soviet chairman and, presumably, approved. The parliamentary leaders will evidently be able to learn what kind of plan this is on 11 March. That day there is to be an extraordinary session of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium devoted specially and completely to the upcoming congress and rally. It is proposed that not only leaders of the Russian Prosecutor's Office, the militia, and the security services, but also the Constitutional Court, should express their views at that session. It is also known that, apart from detailed analysis and prediction of the political situation, it will also hear detailed information about the organizers of the events. Unfortunately there is reason to assume that all this interesting information will not become speedily available to the public at large since it will most likely be a closed session.

Draft Resolutions for 9 Mar Session Noted

LD1003213392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0730 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Moscow, 10 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation held a session on 9 March in the Russian House of Soviets under the chairmanship of R.I. Khasbulatov. [passage omitted]

At the top of the agenda for the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on 9 March was the draft law "On Changes and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the RSFSR." M.A. Mityukov, chairman of the Committee on Legislation, delivered a report on this issue, explaining that it is designed for the congress to adopt the new constitution in only its first reading. It is proposed that 41 changes and additions be introduced to the functioning Constitution. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has referred the draft law in question to committees and commissions for preliminary examination. The Committee on Legislation has been instructed to finalize the draft within a week, taking into account the comments that have been made, and to submit it for discussion by the Supreme Soviet.

M.A. Mityukov also presented the draft resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation "On an Amnesty," which envisions an amnesty affecting 3.7 percent of 21,000 convicted persons. It was noted during the discussion that the examination of the draft has been unduly protracted. The Committee on Legislation has been instructed to submit the draft resolution in question to the session within two weeks, taking into account the remarks that have been made.

Draft Russian Federation laws "On Insurance," "On Currency Regulation and Currency Control," "On Protection for the Family, Motherhood, Fatherhood, and Children," and others were also presented at the Presidium. The question of "ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA," the publication of the Supreme Soviet, was also examined. Its editorial charter was confirmed and the Russian Federation Government was asked to provide a subsidy of 273.1 million rubles from the republican budget to the Ministry of Press and Information as a specific allocation for "ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA."

S.A. Smirnov, chairman of the Committee on Youth Affairs, briefed Presidium members on the results of a session of the interparliamentary commission on cooperation between the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in Kiev on 27-28 February 1992. The information was noted.

The text of a communique "On Harmonizing Conditions for Putting National Monetary Units Into Circulation and for Creating Separate Financial-Credit Systems" was sent to the government and the Central Bank of Russia for consideration.

Also noted was information from A.N. Shokhin, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government, on implementing economic reforms in the Russian Federation and additional measures for the social protection of the population during the transition to market relations. This issue is to be examined at a session of the Supreme Soviet on Friday [13 March].

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet adopted resolutions "On Measures To Implement Investments Allocated by the European Parliament for Technical Assistance to the Russian Federation," and "On Measures To Help Officers, Warrant Officers, Midshipmen and Regular Servicemen Dismissed to the Reserve in Connection With Reductions in the Armed Forces To Set Up Peasant Farms."

Other issues in the state life of the Republic were examined at the session of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

Publication of Draft Constitution Planned

PM1003184792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Linkov: "On Agenda of Sixth Congress. Path to Accord"]

[Excerpts] Oleg Rumyantsev, responsible secretary of the Constitutional Commission, his deputy, Viktor Sheynis, commission secretary Ivan Fedoseyev, and the commission's experts held a news conference at the White House 9 March devoted to the latest plenary session, which took place last Saturday [6 March] [passage omitted]

It is proposed to publish the draft Constitution at the beginning of next week to enable citizens of the Russian Federation to familiarize themselves with it. [passage omitted]

Government To Subsidize ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA

LD0903223692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1959 GMT 9 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow—Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet suggested the government's allocation of R [Ruble] 273.1 mln [million] in subsidies to the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA (RUSSIAN NEWSPAPER) daily in 1992.

A corresponding resolution was approved at the March 9 session of the Supreme Soviet's presidium. The named sum should be evenly distributed by quarters with consideration of inflation. The government was offered to ensure adequate supplies of paper for ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA printing six times per week with 1.4 mln copy circulation.

The salary of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA editor-in-chief was set equal to that of chairman of the Supreme Soviet's standing commission. Editorial staff will enjoy equal benefits with personnel of the Russian Supreme Soviet

Draft Law on Hard Currency Sent To Committee

OW1003022992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1906 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A draft law on hard currency regulation and control is going to be sent to the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet for discussion and to the President to formulate his opinion. The Presidium of the Russian Parliament made this decision on Monday [9 March].

The law sets rules of hard currency transactions on the territories of the republic by residents and non-residents. The term "residents" is applied to both Russian and foreign citizens, as well as persons without citizenship having permanent residence in the Russian Federation or temporarily staying abroad, as well as juridical persons registered in the Russian Federation. The term "non-residents" applies to Russian and foreign citizens, as well as persons without citizenship having no permanent residence in the Russian Federation, as well as juridical persons registered outside the Russian Federation.

Under the draft law, all hard currency payments in the form of salaries, wages or any other benefits to physical persons falling within the category of residents will be banned. Residents will be able to take, carry or send hard currency abroad on the condition they have documentary proof those hard currency assets were brought in or sent to the territory of the Russian Federation.

Currency Available for Interest Repayment Only

PM1003152992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Mar 92 First Edition p 2

[Report from BIZNES-TASS roundup under the "News Items" rubric: "No Currency Left for Imports"]

[Text] The funds being formed within the framework of the republic's currency fund now suffice only to pay interest, Russian Economics Minister A. Nechayev declared recently in the Soviet of the republic. Centralized imports, according to him, are being paid for by means of credits, many of which are investment credits, and the creditors do not allow them to be used for other purposes. It was with great difficulty that he had managed to persuade just the Germans and Italians to permit the use of part of the investment credit for current purchases of medical supplies and medical equipment. Their overall value will total $1.5 billion.

Regional Affairs

Luzhkov Explains Ban on 17 Mar Assembly

MK1003112992 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 10 Mar 92 p 1

[Unattributed report "From Official Sources" on Moscow Government Premier Yu. Luzhkov letter to Moscow Mayor G. Popov: "Yesterday's Men Are Holding 'Assembly'"]

[Text] Moscow Government Premier Yu. Luzhkov has sent Mayor G. Popov a letter assessing the actions of the group of former USSR people's deputies who have announced that they are convening a Congress of USSR People's Deputies 17 March.

The organizers' plans are to restore the USSR, elect a head of state, and create a USSR Government. At the same time, via the underground structures of the former CPSU, it is planned to attract to Moscow several tens of thousands of "staunch" activists-cum-goons to organize a so-called assembly [veche] of the whole people, which is to approve the results of the Congress.

Work to prepare these events, Yu. Luzhkov notes, is being conducted on a large scale: The former party press

has been enlisted in it, leaflets are being circulated, and news conferences are being held.

It is the profound conviction of the Moscow Government that, despite the utter groundlessness and abortive nature of the scheme, the planned action represents an attempt to create unconstitutional parallel organs of power which is incompatible with the declarations of independence adopted by the sovereign states that have emerged in place of the collapsed USSR.

The fact that social organizations and figures that have organized a whole series of mass actions lately have taken the initiative regarding the holding of the "assembly of the whole people" in Moscow is causing particular concern. Their nucleus is made up of fragments of the former CPSU that have failed to come to terms with the loss of their leading and directing role.

Of late these figures have openly demonstrated their desire at all costs—even stooping to illegal and violent methods, as happened 23 February—to destabilize the situation in Moscow and Russia, provoke clashes, and ultimately wreck the reform that is being implemented in Russia.

In the light of the above and mindful that, in the resultant conditions, there are not sufficient guarantees from the organizers of the 17 March events regarding the ensuring of public order and citizens' safety, Yu. Luzhkov writes, the Moscow Government did not deem it possible to satisfy the application to hold a mass rally 17 March in Manezh Square.

The Moscow Government states that it has sufficient forces at its disposal to firmly control the situation in the city and to ensure law and order and the security of the capital's citizens.

Popov Warns of Possible Violence

LD1003191792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1751 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 10 March (ITAR-TASS)—"The main danger of the action on 17 March for the development of democratic reforms in Russia lies in the desire to bring about bloodshed at any cost," according to Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov.

A statement by the mayor circulated today says that on 13 March, the Moscow administration is obliged to give an answer to the application to hold a mass meeting under the Kremlin wall in support of the convocation of the so-called Congress of USSR People's Deputies to be held on the same day.

If, at its meeting on 12 March, the Supreme Soviet does not oblige the mayor's office and the Moscow Soviet "together with the law-enforcement bodies of Russia to repulse the putschists (if necessary using force), then the Moscow Government will be compelled to permit the meeting," the statement notes.

The document says that both the congress and the meeting are putting forward the slogans "Restore legitimate authority," "Establish a head of state and government of the USSR," and "Recall the CPSU apparatus to return to power." Under the guise of restoring the USSR, they are seeking to overthrow the constitutional structure of the Russian Federation. What is involved is an assault on the Constitution of Russia, on its parliament and president, Gavriil Popov notes.

The mayor's statement notes that the administration has sufficient resolve and forces to eliminate attempts at an anti-constitutional putsch.

Collegium on Demonstration Rules

MK1003110592 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 10 Mar 92 p 1

[Report by Sergey Stupar: "Hold Rallies If You Want To. But Follow the Rules"]

[Text] A session of the capital's collegium has discussed the question "On Regulating the Procedure for Holding Rallies and Demonstrations in Moscow in the Light of Its Functions as Capital." Draft decisions which essentially boil down to saying that in themselves rallies and demonstrations within the city should mostly merely require advance notice were examined. However, the local authorities should decide the question of the time and place for holding them. If this procedure is adopted, a few small squares where, after the pattern of London's Hyde Park, rallies could be held merely after notifying the authorities of the fact should be chosen in Moscow.

The same thing goes for demonstrations. If the organizers of political actions want to stage them in the city center, in busy places, they should obtain the authorities' permission for this.

The collegium noted that it is difficult to resolve this question only within the Moscow context in the absence of the requisite legal basis. So the adoption of appropriate legal acts by the Russian leadership is of great importance.

The session adopted as a basis the draft Moscow Government resolution "On the Holding of the 17 March 1992 Rally" which, in particular, proposes that the organizers of this action not be allowed to use Manezh Square because they have not paid compensation for the damage caused to the city 23 February.

At the same session members of the capital's collegium examined and adopted as a basis the plan of work of the commission to prepare a program to counter corruption in Moscow. According to the plan the anticorruption program should be prepared by as early as mid-April this year and should be published by May 1992 after it has been adopted.

Moscow Decides To Support Private Farmers

LD1103061492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] The Moscow Oblast Government has made a decision to support private farmers. This decision envisages the drawing up and implementation of a long-term program for developing private farms and assisting them which is in keeping with market economy principles.

In accordance with the program, at least 15 percent of the centralized capital investments allocated by the oblast for construction roads, installations to supply electricity and gas, and other works, will be directed to set up the infrastructure of private farms. It was also decided to improve supplies of equipment to farmers.

Progress in Privatization, Housing Reported

OW1003233492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2005 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Konstantin Buraylev, first deputy head of the Moscow Government in charge of the privatization campaign, told the government session on Monday [9 March] that of the 3,400 facilities slated for transfer into private hands during the first three months of 1992 only 60% have actually been privatized or turned into shareholding companies (including 868 shops, 593 [words indistinct]).

According to Buryalev, of the 66,000 applications for privatizing housing 36,000 have been satisfied. However, the actual privatization-related revenues into the city budget have totaled only 300 million rubles (against the first quarter's target of 1.4 billion).

The government session concluded that privatization depends to a considerable extent on the work of district prefects and other local officials. Moscow government premier Yuriy Luzhkov suggested that in that connection that municipal officials trying to openly or secretly impede the privatization process be regarded as saboteurs and fired.

Dudayev's Emergency Powers Not Extended

OW1003025192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1906 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The emergency powers given to Chechen President Dzhakhar Dudayev a month ago have expired.

The republican leader was given emergency powers to handle the crime situation in the republic and stop armed attacks on military units. His first step was to impose a curfew on the republican capital, Groznyy.

The Chechen parliamentary press center has reported that the curfew is no longer in effect because the parliament has failed to extend General Dudayev's emergency powers.

OMON Units Swear Allegiance to Republic

LD1003194392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Mar 92

[F. Avidzba report from Groznyy; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Internal troops, OMON [special purpose militia detachment] units, and all the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] staff of the Chechen Republic took an oath of allegiance to the people, president, and parliament on 10 March. During the oath-taking ceremony, Chechen Republic President Dzhakhar Dudayev made a speech in which he stressed once again that his aim as president is to defend the independence of the Chechen state.

Urals Chemical Explosion Rumors 'Exaggerated'

PM1003155192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Viktor Litovkin: "Chemical Weapons Did Not Explode in Russia"]

[Text] On 9 March CNN-TV broadcast a report on a chemical weapons explosion in the Urals and said that 17 people were injured in the explosion.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent tried to clarify the causes of the accident and its consequences. Major General Yuriy Koryakin, deputy chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Chemical Troops, stated:

"There has been no chemical weapons explosion here and there have not been any in the past, especially in the Urals, where there are no chemical weapons stores. All chemical weapons at our disposal are stored in the most reliable conditions."

The Russian Civil Defense Staff explained the situation:

"Yes, there was an accident 6 March in the main pipeline at the Solikamsk magnesium combine. Up to 200 kg of chlorine were ejected into the air. The source was located by the combine's civil defense detachment the same day. No one was killed; three people were injured but their lives are not in danger."

So the rumors about the chemical weapons explosion turned out to be somewhat exaggerated.

Ingush Leader Confirms Loyalty to Russia

LD1103045992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] The Ingush see their independence only as part of Russia. This was stated by Begsultan Seynaruyev,

chairman of the People's Council of Ingushetia. He was speaking on Tuesday [10 March] at a news conference in Moscow. We will not follow Dudayev, but we will not renounce Russia either, he said. We are for our own parliament and autonomy, with Vladikavkaz as our capital, and for the return of our historic territories. In his opinion the Russian leadership should not delay the resolution of the Ingush problem.

Karelia Seeks Federative Treaty, Not Secession

LD1003231692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Certain publications predict that the republic will leave Russia soon and is in the same category as Chechenia and Tatarstan. And the fact that about 86 percent of the Karelian populations are Russian-speakers gives the commentaries a special flavor.

[V. N. Stepanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Karelia] This issue was not included in the Supreme Soviet's agenda in January, and, generally speaking, there are no grounds, I think, to allege that Karelia is going to leave Russia. There are, however, certain public movements in our republic which believe it is possible to examine the issue of joining a part of Karelia to Finland or of Karelia leaving Russia. But, perhaps, everyone is entitled to his own point of view.

[Ternoushko] The attention of very many people, also in Karelia, is drawn to the events in Tatarstan.

[Stepanov] Well, we have an approach of our own. We are in favor of a federative treaty and we hope that it will be signed in the near future. [Video shows newspaper stalls and the interview]

Sobchak Appeals for Help To Trace Chemicals

LD0803135292 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1100 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Mayor of St. Petersburg Anatoliy Sobchak has appealed to Finland and other states on the Baltic Sea to help in the joint efforts to raise and render harmless the chemical weapons which were sunk in the Gulf of Finland and near the coasts of the Baltic states after the war. Sobchak made the appeal when he met [Finnish] Environment Minister Sirpa Pietikaeinen this week. Sobchak said that the St. Petersburg authorities are at present tracing the sunken vessels which carried cargoes of weapons and which are now rusting through. He promised that Finland would soon be informed about the sites of the sinkings and about the risks, and that assistance would possibly be asked for in dealing with the matter.

St. Petersburg Defense Wants Law on Conversion

OW1003023392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1906 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The managers of defence plants in St. Petersburg have demanded an early law on the conversion of defence industries and tax benefits for those industrial plants that would re-tool 25 percent of their production facilities. They also want an end to the freeze of hard currency accounts of industrial plants supposed to undergo conversion. These demands are contained in a message to the Russian leaders, issued by a conference of defence plant managers in St Petersburg.

The message voices the fear that the products of defence plants will remain useless, because the General Staff has no idea what types of military equipment it will need, and in what amount. In that connection the defence plant managers criticized the Russian government for lacking a concept of defence sufficiency.

Meat for St. Petersburg Sits in Rail Cars

LD0803130992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] ITAR-TASS reports that 70 refrigerated rail cars carrying meat that cannot be unloaded anywhere have already accumulated at the St. Petersburg rail stations. All the city's cold stores are full. If the meat is not bought up by the population now, then, in the view of the ITAR-TASS correspondent, in April-May the town will find itself without meat as banks are refusing to allocate credits for produce that is not being bought.

So, perhaps prices could be lowered?

Abolition of Krasnoyarsk Soviets Leaves Vacuum

PM0903155392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Tarasov: "Farewell To Soviet Power?"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—Rural soviets are being abolished in Krasnoyarskiy Kray. In Kuraginskiy Rayon, for example, 15 village or settlement soviets were blown away, as it were, overnight.

Well, you can regard local organs of representative power in various ways. For various reasons many voters and politicians from extreme right to farthest left are averse to the kind that exist at the moment. Their imperfections are obvious. But it looks as if only the deputies themselves want to battle for soviet power at the moment. It is not a matter of changing attitudes, which the local elected bodies are obviously not keeping up with, but a matter of how the farewell to Soviet power is being organized in the taiga villages.

There is no law to the effect that it is time to abolish it. But as it was then, when "in the sticks" any minor comment from the "center" was seen as a guide to action, so it is today: A number of senior officials only had to hint that the organs of representative power needed to be reformed and the provincial authorities responded with the traditional zeal. For example, Russian Federation State Secretary G. Burbulis only had to call the soviets in their current form a "vestige" and the people in Krasnoyarsk Oblast started liquidating them—and not only in godforsaken hamlets, but in settlements with hundreds of inhabitants.

Of course, this provincial obsequiousness is easily explained—a reluctance to maintain a large body of elected representatives. The peasant bosses, on studying the law on local self-government, found a contradiction in it: First it said that in villages the functions of the soviet chairman can be entrusted to the administration chief, but a few pages further on it says that administration chiefs cannot be deputies. How so? "In order to prevent bosses from multiplying in villages, it was recommended that they combine posts," Ye. Dobryanskiy, member of the kray soviet presidium, said. "Now, if they have a local referendum somewhere and decide to abolish the soviet, its powers should be transferred either to a neighboring soviet or to an organ of territorial self-government."

In fact, the process of curtailing Soviet power in the countryside is proving much simpler. In accordance with the wishes of the administration chief it is disppearing into oblivion, leaving neither heirs nor successors. According to the law, the date for the election of new deputies is fixed by the superior soviet no later than two months after the date of the decision on the early suspension of the powers of the organ of representative power. However, as is known, elections cannot be held before the end of the year.

So the law has been broken. How do you explain why someone living in the countryside, unlike the inhabitants of, for example, St. Petersburg or Tula, is deprived of the right to elect and be elected to local organs of self-government, whatever their names?

...The governor of Krasnoyarsk Kray, who has only just started the job, was sitting at a table next to the kray soviet chairman, advising journalists to work out whether rural soviets are necessary, so the heads of local executive power can decide whether or not there are going to be organs of representative power on their territory. After several years of enthusiastic talk about the principles of democracy, about the rule-of-law state, about the division of power, and about the balance of power, this is, of course, surprising, to put it mildly. The link between power and the electorate, which was not very strong anyway, is becoming desperately slender. No one doubts that representative, elected power needs improving, but the changes must take place in accordance with the law.

Food Prices in Krasnoyarsk Region Deregulated

PM0903135392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksey Tarasov: "All Prices Deregulated in Krasnoyarsk"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk Region Governor A. Veprev has signed a resolution permitting city and rayon administrations in the region to deregulate prices for bread, salt, milk, sugar, and other foodstuffs.

On 4 March a loaf of black bread already cost seven rubles [R] in stores in central Krasnoyarsk, while a white loaf was R12.48. The price of dairy products is fluctuating. A half-liter bottle of cream varies between R14 and R22 at different stalls. Meat products are being bought up more actively—meat prices are still at the February level. The price of "Russkaya" vodka has stabilized at R85 per half-liter.

Murmansk Oblast Discusses Regional Strike

MK1103115592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 92 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Todres: "Murmansk Petitioners Did Not Find Truth in Moscow and Are Threatening To Respond With a Strike"]

[Text] A month ago the Murmansk Oblast leadership took its burden of problems to St. Petersburg: At the time Ruslan Khasbulatov, the speaker of the Russian parliament, met there with the provincial chiefs and deputies. His reaction to the talk about social tension and the instability of the economic situation on the Kola peninsula was rather vague, however.

With the passage of time, as expected, the situation in the region has worsened (particularly at the apatite mines). Another delegation came to Moscow to request aid, appropriations, and grants. The visit achieved absolutely no results.

The "angry northerners," however, do not intend to give in. The question of a general regional strike was submitted for discussion at the extraordinary session of the oblast soviet that opened Tuesday. It is noteworthy that, in addition to the deputies, participants include members of the official trade unions' oblast council, economic managers, and also representatives of political parties and movements (of which there are not many on the Kola peninsula, as everywhere else in Russia). It seems that a regional strike by all the above-mentioned categories is a rare chance to score points.

Incidentally, the prospects for a strike are being discussed in the Arctic region at the very moment when local representatives of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia across the Urals are again attempting to get the Kuzbass to "settle down." They are unlikely to have much success there: At the present time

their intentions are not supported by the strike committees, which in the mining region are far stronger than official trade unions. In Murmansk Oblast the labor movement is less strongly developed, and the influence of the chiefs is greater (particularly if the considerable militarization of the peninsula is borne in mind). So the Russian north may soon show us yet another specifically Russian phenomenon: a "directors' strike."

Chukotka Suffering From Exodus of Specialists

OW0903015492 Magadan Radio Magadan in Russian 0755 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Today, the national economy in many regions of the oblast is being deprived of various specialists who are continuously leaving for the central rayons of the country. In turn, it is estimated that the Chukotskiy Rayon, with a population a little over 6,000, will lose 450 people during 1992 and 1993. Among the departing intelligentsia are specialists who are acutely needed in the rayon—teachers, doctors, engineers, and trade workers. Many of those departing are natives of the Ukraine and Belarus. The reason for their exodus is known: It is the economic instability of the country, [words indistinct] wages, fear of losing housing [words indistinct] social guarantee on the mainland.

Saratov Oblast Head 'Decisive and Willful'

PM0903153392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Mar 92 First Edition p 5

[Correspondent Oleg Zlobin report under the "'Hot' Topic" rubric: "Saratov People Have Failed To Secede—Yeltsin Has Appointed Governor"]

[Text] Saratov—"This is the sovereign Saratov Republic on radio and television!" No, no, you will not hear this for the time being... However, the subject of granting Saratov Oblast the status of an autonomous formation has certainly not come up in the mass media by chance. Viktor Ukhanev, deputy chairman of the oblast soviet, spoke unambiguously of the possibility of such an unusual, to put it bluntly, solution to the tangle of local problems at a regular session of the oblast parliament.

Here is another news item: The previous day the city newspaper had "declassified" the information that this "hot" topic—endowing Saratov Oblast with the rights of an autonomous territorial formation—had also been touched upon in passing, so it turns out, at a session of the oblast's Lesser Soviet. The idea evidently seems tempting to some people. This is why: By proclaiming its lands a member of the Federation and becoming a republic or, still better, an independent state, the local "White House," which is suffering from the lack of a clear-cut executive power structure in the oblast, will, in the opinion of some deputies, acquire weighty powers which will enable it to counteract the government's decrees and ordinances which appear to some people to run counter to the realities of the Saratov land.

All this would be laughable if it were not so sad! Our newspaper has already written that the Russian reforms are getting bogged down in the stagnant Saratov soil. But this seems to have come to an end. "Life without a head" has ended for the Volga people—B. Yeltsin recently signed a decree appointing Yuriy Belykh to Saratov as acting head of the oblast administration. The governor is 50 years old. He is a deputy of the Russian parliament and director of Dubkovskaya Poultry Factory, the largest in the oblast. He has behind him 20 years' experience of leading agricultural enterprises.

I will emphasize that Yu. Belykh, who has been appointed by the president's decree, was the 14th (!) aspirant to the governorship. His candidacy, like many others, was also "blackballed" by a session of the oblast soviet. So, on taking up his post, Belykh is perfectly well aware of the whole complexity of the steps to be taken. "Today every hunter runs after his own elk," he believes. "I have to rally people, to create a strong 'team...'" I would like to believe that the decisive and willful Yuriy Belykh, a strong boss and practical agrarian, will succeed in halting the oblast's protracted flight into the abyss.

Opposition to Governor of Sakhalin Countered

OW1003073792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0700 GMT 4 Mar 92

[V. Voropayev report over video; from the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[Text] The collection of signatures in support of the head of the Oblast Administration, Valentin Fedorov, has started in Sakhalin. That is how citizens loyal to the governor have decided to counter the opposition by representatives of Democratic Russia and a section of the oblast soviet deputies. [video shows an unidentified reporter interviewing I.I. Naymushin, co-chairman of the Oblast Organization of Democratic Russia, then cuts to show Valentin Fedorov]

[Begin Naymushin recording] Democratic Russia has made a decision to oppose the actions of the present administration at the end of last year, based on an analysis of the living conditions in our oblast. We consider the results in every direction of the administration's activities to be unfavorable for the majority of the Sakhalin people; in principle, the administration and its head, Valentin Petrovich Fedorov, are constantly putting up a hard line opposition to the present government of Russia, and in our view counteract the reforms implemented by Moscow. [end recording]

Movement Opposes Maritime Kray Administration

OW1003062292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0700 GMT 4 Mar 92

[From the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[Text] The Vladivostok organization of the Russian Democratic Movement has announced its opposition to

the Maritime Kray administration. Resolutions by the local republican organization note that the Maritime administration is willfully adopting decisions that may have negative consequences for the kray's inhabitants and ecology. Another issue is that on the administration's staff are people in management positions not working to implement reforms but to satisfy their own profit aims.

This quotation was taken from an ITAR-TASS release.

Bashkortostan Oil Exports Quota Introduced

LD0603120792 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 4 Mar 92

[Text] The Russian Government has introduced a quota on exports of oil by the Republic of Bashkortostan. In accordance with the quota, the Bashneft association has been given the right to sell 3.3 million tonnes of oil abroad. There is a shortage of foreign currency for the social and economic development of the region. Ecological problems are extremely acute, too. Increasing exports of oil from Bashkortostan is the only realistic way of obtaining foreign currency; 15 percent of the oil produced here will go on the world market.

Russian Germans To Hold Solidarity Rallies

LD1003190792 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 10 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Alexey Luzin]

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—The second congress of Germans of the former Soviet Union, to be held late this March in Moscow, will consider the refusal from re-establishment of the Volga German Autonomous Republic, as well as a large scale German migration of Russian Germans, leader of Russian Germans Heinrich Grout told a news conference here today.

"We had to take this decision because of the unwillingness of the Russian leadership to restore historical justice," noted Grout.

In order to speed up the large scale migration to Germany, the leadership of Russian Germans intends to address Berlin with a request to increase entrance quotas that now run into an annual 150,000. If such rates of migration remain, the migration will take 20 years, said Grout.

To finance the resettlement program, Russian Germans also intend to address the Russian Government with a demand to give them a compensation for the genocide policy. The compensation can be partially allocated at the expense of German credits granted to provide for the withdrawal of the former Soviet troops from Germany and build housing for the servicemen.

Grout positively estimated the Ukrainian president's intention to invite Russian Germans to Crimea. However, the Crimea may house only about 100,000 out of two million Russian Germans, he said.

The Russian Germans leader noted rallies will be held on March 28 in many Russian and other cities of the former USSR to mark the Russian Germans' national solidarity day.

International

Kravchuk Interviewed on Relations With Russia

PM0903111192 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 7 Mar 92 p 4

[Interview with President Leonid Kravchuk by Georgiy Dolzhenko; place and date not given: "Leonid Kravchuk: We No Longer Want To Depend on Chance"]

[Text] [Dolzhenko] Leonid Makarovich, I recall your speech at the constituent congress of "Rukh" in September 1989, and how you cited the words of Stefan Zweig that unhurried persistence in politics always prevails over uncontrolled force, a thoroughly elaborated plan over an impromptu impulse, and realism over romanticism. Is this your credo?

[Kravchuk] Yes. Everywhere and at all times I seek to avoid haste and hotheadedness in decisions. You can call this my credo or what you will. Do you know what a mess can be made of things through temperamental action? Conservatives pull in one direction, radicals in another, and liberals in a third, and each believes that only he is right. Tension in relations with our neighbors has also intensified. Seeing that you took it into your heads to separate, they say, we will not give you this or that, and they do not. As a result plants and factories grind to a halt. Well, and how should we act? Here it is important to take everything into consideration, and to make the only correct choice in every situation—whether it concerns internal political problems, interstate relations, or the economy.

[Dolzhenko] All this is so, but how does, let us suppose, the liberalization of prices coming in advance of the forthcoming privatization program square with sovereign wisdom [derzhavnaya mudrost]? In effect people have had their pockets turned out, and the modest savings that they had amassed over decades have been turned into kopeks overnight. And now they are told: Buy up plants and land. How can they do so when they do not have the wherewithal to acquire a piece of meat or a suit? Does this mean that the buyers will be our shadowy millionaires and foreign fat cats?

[Kravchuk] You have touched on perhaps one of the most painful questions. Of course, everything should have been the other way round: First, destatization and privatization, and the demonopolization of industry above all. So that private producers, private farmers, and private salesmen should appear, so that there should be some kind of competition at least. Then demand would dictate prices, and the market itself would regulate them. But, alas, we had to follow Russia in beginning the liberalization prematurely, and consequently, at great expense. Tonnes of sausage and milk products were wasted because of their inordinate cost, and there would seem to be nothing to blame the kolkhozes for. Industry set extortionate prices for its output. A wheeled tractor, for instance, became 50 times more expensive, and harrows 80 times more expensive; the cost of children's boots increased from 30 rubles [R] to R600. Profitability in some enterprises shot up by 300-500 percent. Trade monopolists also did not fail to take advantage of the chaos and raised markups, thereby increasing the former prices of goods two to threefold. We have been forced to urgently set up a government commission to suppress this price mayhem. Prices on boiled ham, butter, and sour cream have been lowered, and profitability levels for various sectors have been fixed within limits of 25-40 percent.

[Dolzhenko] It was assumed that coupons would prove a reliable protection against devastating raids on the Ukrainian consumer market. However, this has not happened. Therefore, people say that the gamble with them was a futile loss of resources. It would have been better to have introduced hryvnyas [proposed name for Ukrainian currency] at once.

[Kravchuk] Why futile?! Coupons have done their job. They have restrained the influx of devalued rubles, although they have temporarily lowered the population's purchasing power. By the end of February-beginning of March almost all pay will be issued in coupons. This will enable trade to be stabilized. A tendency for prices to fall is forecast, and it will be possible to pay out some of the deposits in coupons. As for hryvnyas, it would have been simply impossible to have printed them by January.

The fact that during the liberalization of prices and the introduction of coupons some members of the government demonstrated confusion, or even incompetence, is a different matter. This is mentioned in the discussion of the Cabinet of Ministers' report delivered in the Supreme Soviet, and the deputies—in your newspaper's expression, I think—gave it the "thumbs down." Now, as you know, reorganization is under way of the higher organs of executive power.

[Dolzhenko] In recent time Ukraine has made a powerful mark on the international arena. More than 100 countries have recognized it, and it has established business and diplomatic contacts with many states. But are all the steps in this area well considered? Take your initiative on the resettlement of Soviet Germans. Has anyone forecast the results of this step?

[Kravchuk] As for Germany, we are establishing relations of the closest partnership with that country. Dozens of mutually advantageous economic deals have already been concluded. In order to simplify the movements of German businessmen, all formalities for business trips were abolished from 15 February—businessmen can get a visa right at the border.

The restoration of justice—the return of Soviet Germans to the land from which they had been deported—was also natural. We talked about this on my recent visit to Bonn. But this step should not be viewed as some kind of political gamesmanship. It is a question of the right of deported peoples to return to the land of their fathers. And if the Crimean Tatars received this right, why not restore it also to the Germans, of whom there were

400,000 living among us before the war? A Ukrainian-German Fund has already been set up, and the FRG will be helping to subsidize it.

Deliveries from Russia are a constant source of tension for us. Thermal power stations and automobile transport are on starvation rations. Of the 40 million tonnes of crude oil which we should have received from Russia according to preliminary accords, agreements have been concluded for only 6 million tonnes. Moreover, even 40 million tonnes is manifestly insufficient for our purposes. Therefore we have begun to look urgently for other partners. And there have already been definite breakthroughs. Thus there are plans to build a superterminal in the port of Odessa to receive tankers with Arab oil, and in 1995 phase one of the Ukraine-Iran gas pipeline is due to be commissioned. The European Bank of Reconstruction and Development is to aid us to renew the republic's power industry.

[Dolzhenko] Does the increasing integration of the Ukrainian economy into the foreign market and its fusion into pan-European and worldwide political processes signify the weakening of ties with the countries of the Commonwealth, in particular, with Russia?

[Kravchuk] No, it is a question of transferring these ties to new principles, of moving away from monopolism in relations. After all, we have up to now been living in a closed space, stewing in our own juice, and only the center had the possibility of going out onto the external market. This led to depressing consequences. It is no accident that way back Khrushchev tried to create National Economic Councils, because to run such a huge power from one city and to divide everything down to the last fiber and the last ruble was becoming increasingly costly for the economy. We gradually became deadlocked. It was necessary to change the model of management, and we followed the trail blazed by the world community, borrowing the best from it, cooperating and collaborating with foreign firms.

Just look how persistently the republics of the former Union are searching for their place in the prevailing structure of economic relations in West and East. But relations between ourselves will also play a definitive role for a long time to come. We are linked by thousands of threads to Russia—trading, cultural, and ethnic—and it would be naive even to think about severing ties. The consequences would be catastrophic. Today already hundreds of plants are standing idle, and in many places people have been sent on unscheduled leave—and all because of the violation of economic contracts. On both sides at that. Nowadays documents have been adopted abolishing obstacles on the road to concluding contracts, and for our part we intend to call leaders of our enterprises strictly to account for deviations from contracts with regular consumers—we will fine them up to 10 times the sum involved and debit to their accounts the losses sustained by their partners. We expect similar measures from the Russians.

[Dolzhenko] How do you see the future of the CIS? Under what conditions could Ukraine consider its participation in the CIS unacceptable, and is an "unexpected" turn of events possible?

[Kravchuk] I would not like to analyze such a scenario, especially since the Commonwealth is only just finding its feet—it is only three months old. And its potential is great; the fact that about 50 important documents aimed at solving common problems have already been adopted testifies to this. But the CIS' future will directly depend on how we fulfill accords. In practice this does not always happen.

For instance, on 30 December we adopted a joint document, and on 3 January Marshal Shaposhnikov sends a telegram denouncing it. We agreed that by July all tactical warheads would be withdrawn from our territory, and all strategic nuclear weapons by July 1994. But I learn quite by chance from the newspapers that tactical weapons have allegedly already been withdrawn from all republics, and strategic weapons have been taken off battle alert. We agreed that nuclear weapons, together with the navy, belong to the CIS, but we suddenly learn of the retargeting of missiles and about a joint Russian-U.S. space defense. The same goes for foreign missions, the selling off of the fleet, and so on and so forth. I could cite many similar examples that do not attest to a general desire for good-neighborly coexistence within the CIS.

[Dolzhenko] Incidentally, about the Black Sea Fleet. Is there any sign of a possible solution of this problem?

[Kravchuk] There is no problem. It has been fabricated and blown up for the sake of other goals. The same goes for the debate about the Crimea. The ships in the fleet are primarily old, and it is simply absurd to talk about their fulfilling global tasks. Especially since Northern Fleet ships are on duty in the Mediterranean Sea, and Ukraine has no strategic interests there. On the other hand, the Black Sea region is densely populated, and to keep nuclear weapons on ships is very dangerous. Turkish President Ozal has proposed setting up an economic cooperation zone with a minimal quantity of military vessels, and this idea deserves the warmest support.

The impression arises that the fleet is necessary to ensure the repose of military chiefs and reinforce the efforts of some figures in the Crimea to sever the peninsula from Ukraine. The Crimean "card" is being played intensely in the Russian parliament too, and the issue is being whipped up in the mass media of the former center, although there are no grounds for this. All the procedures in the transfer were constitutionally consistent in 1954, and at the referendum in 1990, 93 percent of the inhabitants of the peninsula voted for the Crimea to be part of Ukraine. The inviolability of borders was confirmed also by a treaty between Russia and Ukraine, and also in subsequent joint communiques. If we begin to redraw territories, we could go too far.

[Dolzhenko] You mentioned the former center's mass media. What role, in your opinion, does the media play today in consolidating the CIS? Judging by some of your statements, you do not feel especially sorry for them. Why?

[Kravchuk] Do you know what I will say to you? I have a very respectful attitude to journalists and their far from easy profession. They say what they think, and they answer with their good name for the reliability of their facts and the purity of their judgments. Some circles in Moscow to this day are simply groaning with nostalgia for the old times when they could order about every mortal creature right to the country's outermost limits. It is mostly from these circles now that calls to restore the single and indivisible country and return to former procedures are being heard. Strange as it may seem, even journalists at Union level—true, not all—have fallen under their influence, and since Ukraine does not have means of its own for reaching the foreign reader or viewer, it finds itself in an information blockade. All events in the republic are interpreted only from the center's point of view, and a fly unfailingly turns up in every ointment. And they never fail to add: The Ukrainian people are against this policy. They prefer not to mention the referendum where the people said "yes" to independence. In effect, a mass inflammation of anti-Ukrainian sentiment is going on; attempts are being made to make two fraternal peoples fall out.

Tell me, in what civilized country do they permit the head of a neighboring state to be purely and simply reviled? One high-ranking figure through a respectable newspaper calls all the presidents of the CIS—who were elected, incidentally, by the people—the new "godfathers" [pakhany]; another offensively instructs someone else's president how to behave. Some humorist blatantly ridicules the leader of another country, for which they make a state TV channel available to him. Are their any labels at all that they have not pinned on me personally? It is not just a matter of me. They are insulting the whole people who elected me president.

[Dolzhenko] Leonid Makarovich, forgive me, but I am itching to ask you one rather piquant question. You spent over three decades in party work.

[Kravchuk] You can save yourself the trouble, I will continue: When was I the real me, then or now, how did I manage to reconstruct myself, and was it in the same spirit? Is that correct? You are not the first to ask. I did indeed spend a long time in party posts; I actually rose to the post of second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, but anyone who knows party work knows also that freedom of thought was not permitted in it. And the discussion of acute questions even less so.

My first doubts arose in meetings and discussions with democratic movements. On becoming chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet I was able to familiarize myself with the archives. A terrifying picture was revealed. Lies were heaped upon lies. The sufferings of the people were simply immeasurable. More than 5 million people perished in Ukraine during the artificial famine of 1933; millions of people were destroyed in repressions. Genocide was systematically carried out, both in Stalinist times and later. Then I drew for myself the conclusion that it was possible to escape from this nightmare only by obtaining freedom. The people won this freedom through suffering, and now no one will turn them from the path.

National Affairs

Conscripts Serving in Far East Ordered Home

LD1103115392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Orders to send home all conscript servicemen called up from the territory of Ukraine have been received from the Joint Command of the CIS Forces in the Far East Military District. This was reported to the ITAR-TASS agency by Colonel Anatoliy Shishin, officer in charge of the department for bringing the district up to strength. However, half of those drafted from Ukraine wish to complete their service in the Far East, he said.

Crimean Situation, Black Sea Fleet Assessed

MK1103095992 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 92 p 1

[Report by Vera Kuznetsova: "Sevastopol Is Lost to Ukraine, But Republic Is Planning To Take 80 Percent of Black Sea Fleet"]

[Text] In the opinion of Vadim Makhno, city soviet deputy representing the "Ukraine" group, after the visit of the "Friendship Train" (900 Ukrainian guardsmen [streltsy] headed by Stepan Khmara) to Sevastopol the city is lost to the Ukraine. Makhno thinks it would have been hard to think up a more provocative gesture than that made by Khmara and his comrades: First they blocked traffic at the entrance to the city, then, out in the streets, they declared the Russian language to be the language of occupiers, and then they tore down the red flags on the cutters (allocated for a "guardsmen's" demonstration) and replaced them with yellow and blue flags. Literally the very next day after the guardsmen's march through Sevastopol the lines of people outside the RDK's [expansion unknown] (pro-Russian movement) booths to collect signatures in support of a referendum on Crimean independence grew longer. One Russian officer who asked to remain anonymous (there are secret orders in the Black Sea Fleet to give no interviews before 20 March) remarked that pro-Russian political groups are setting up territorial defense detachments in response to the Ukrainian guardsmen's demonstration. And all this is happening in a closed militarized city, where all the residents are either workers in the military-industrial complex, or military people proper.

Sevastopol's subordination to the republic does not make it any more loyal to Kiev, rather it is exacerbating relations between the local and the republic authorities. A recent statement by Mayor Ivan Yermakov (alluding to one member of the republic government)—"Kiev has decided to hold back food for the city pending a solution of the issue of the Black Sea Fleet"—had the result that Russians began speaking of a third defense of Sevastopol. Although it is well known, at any rate to city soviet deputies, that Ukraine allocated Sevastopol 130 million rubles [R] for the quarter by way of compensation payments, plus R29 million for basic necessities, pro-Russian political leaders are speaking of an economic blockade by Kiev of both Sevastopol and the Crimea as a whole. Admittedly, even some of them have been forced to admit that the closed city is blockading itself, with its militarized economy and lack of any plans for conversion.

As for Kiev, it is preparing both conversion plans and new laws on military service and social guarantees for servicemen. Military medic Aleksandr Volkov noted Leonid Kravchuk's great abilities in drawing up documents: Officers are to get benefits and pay (more than in Russia), soldiers are to get an 18-month term of service. The result of a poll carried out by Admiral Kasatonov among Black Sea Fleet officers regarding their attitude toward the Ukrainian oath (many replied that it depended on social conditions) shows that the Ukrainian president is onto a sure thing. After the adoption of a political decision to transfer part of the fleet to Ukraine, a Russian officer believes (at his request I do not give his name), all officers, not to mention enlisted personnel (over 60 percent of whom are Ukrainians), will swear allegiance to the yellow and blue flag.

According to Admiral Kasatonov, Ukraine wants to take 80 percent of the Black Sea Fleet. If you take into account the fact that it is time to write off many ships and that armed forces both in Ukraine and in Russia face the prospect of reductions, 80 percent is precisely what will be left of the present fleet. Deputy Nikolay Tsert, a member of the official Ukrainian delegation that visited the fleet, remarked in this connection that it is now impossible to say that the republic is taking everything for itself. He thinks the Navy command will not resist the transfer of part of the fleet to Ukraine. But neither experts nor politicians can entirely say how this will look in practice. On the one hand Ukraine does not want to continue to feed the unified military monster. On the other hand, no one knows how ships under different flags are going to serve at the same quayside.

It has been learned from unofficial sources that plans for defending Ukraine instead of the former USSR are being drawn up at Black Sea Fleet headquarters.

Border Posts in Lvov Area Reinforced

LD1003202992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1901 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Lvov region—Starting from March 9 frontier posts in the Mukachevo and Drogobych Districts were shifted to the reinforced border guard mode. Arrival and concentration of Vietnam citizens was registered in the area adjacent to the border. Border guard commanders are anxious about the possible attempts of illegal crossings.

Officials Cited on Problems of Forming Army

LD1003150392 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Recent events in Nagorno-Karabakh have proved that the Army intended to defend the Commonwealth of Independent States is no one's army. The CIS Army units stationed in the area of conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan failed to stop bloodshed, but, which is much worse, the troops suffered casualties.

Ukraine is presently building its own national armed forces. Almost 80 percent of officers and men of the former Soviet Army have sworn oaths of allegiance to Ukraine. It is quite an achievement in comparison with other republics which decided to create their own armies, but there are too many problems as well.

People's deputy Ihor Drekatsch, a member of the parliament's standing committee on defense and security affairs, dwells upon a peculiar one:

[Begin Drekatsch recording, in Ukrainian fading into English translation] I would like to emphasize the problem which nobody seems to notice. The majority of officers and enlisted men in the Ukrainian Army are not Ukrainians. I think that it is very important to observe the ethnic principle in building the armed forces, that the racial Ukrainians in the Army should be equivalent to the racial Ukrainians in the country. But unfortunatley, today we have more Russians. It is not that they are doing wrong to our army. The Russian officers who decided to serve in the Ukrainian Army are doing their duty as well. But we should remember that 300,000 Ukrainian officers serve in other republics of the former Soviet Union, unable to return to their homeland. So the top positions in the Army are given to the Russian officers. [end recording]

Despite the fact that Ukrainians do not make the majority of the Ukrainian National Army, it is very unlikely that this ethnic disbalance would complicate the situation in the armed forces.

Air Force Colonel Vasil Martynyuk, who has 30 years of service record, believes that the majority of those officers who decided to swear loyalty oaths to Ukraine were not guided by patriotism. He said:

[Begin Martynyuk recording, in Ukrainian fading into English translation] If the officers were not economically dependent as they are now, if they could choose a place of residence, or if there were guarantees that they would be granted the opportunity to continue their careers in Russia, they would not swear allegiance to Ukraine. In

fact their choice was determined by circumstances where they have no homes, no money to buy houses or flats and no guarantees for the future. Thus we have a paradox situation in the Army. Hundreds of officers of Ukrainian origin apply to the Ministry of Defense asking to be transferred to Ukraine. They agree to occupy any positions but the ministry can't help them. So I think that the Army we have in Ukraine is not Ukrainian by its spirit. It does not follow Ukrainian traditions either. It might have become a real national armed forces if the policy makers considered the issues of repatriation of officers before this process began.

Restrictions Tightened on Securities Trading

OW1103003692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2015 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Interfax Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian Ministry of Finance is gathering information on firms trading in securities in Ukraine without government licensure, according to an announcement made by Andrey Litvin, chief of the Ministry's monetary circulation and securities administration. After the research has been completed, the Ministry will take the violators to court to confiscate all of their profits received as a result of illegal activities.

Mr. Litvin explained that licensure is required according to Ukraine's law "On Securities and Stock Exchanges", and covers more than simply intermediary activities for securities trade. Firms issuing securities are not required to have a license, they are merely required to register their issues.

The Ukrainian Finance Ministry has published a comprehensive list of those holding licenses for selling securities in the republic. According to the list, only 11 enterprises have the right to take part in this type of commercial activity: Donetsk Investment Company (Donetsk), "Relaks" limited liability association (Yevpatoriya), Ukrstroibank (Kiev), Brokerbusinessbank (Kiev), Ukrsotbank (Kiev), "Trive" joint-stock financial investment company, "Promen" commercial bank (Kharkov), Kiev People's Bank (Kiev), Ukraine Sherbank (Kiev), Kharkovlegbank (Kharkov), and Gradobank (Kiev).

Fuel Shortages Affecting Agriculture

LD1003154192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Seed planting in Ukraine is being thwarted by fuel shortages.

The alarm was sounded by agrarian deputies in parliament. One of them even went on a hunger strike to attract the government's attention to the state of affairs in agriculture. He stopped it only after President Leonid Kravchuk assured him that the farmers would be provided with the fuel.

The Cabinet has decided to urgently give farmers 300,000 tonnes of diesel fuel out of state reserves. Russia has agreed to help Ukraine out of this difficult situation by supplying four million tonnes of oil products every month.

Moldova

'Relative Calm' Reported From Chisinau

AU1003132092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 10 Mar 92

[By Chisinau correspondent Gabriel Ionescu]

[Text] The news received last night and this morning from the troubled area reports relative calm. No particular incidents have been noted.

The eighth session of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova resumed this morning. The supreme legislative forum has decided that, under the current conditions in the republic, a complete restructuring of the parliament—a question that was discussed during several sessions—is not needed. Changes will be made only within the standing commissions.

A delegation made up of parliamentarians and citizens from the left side of the Dnestr is in Moscow to inform the international audience and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on the situation in the Republic of Moldova and on the recent events on the left bank of the Dnestr.

Late last night the delegation members met with first assistant of the Russian parliament (?Filatov), the management of the (?Stankilov) company, and with the chief editor of the Soviet television program "Current Events." The Moldovan parliamentarians will also hold meetings with the leadership of the Cossacks of the former Soviet Union and participate in a news conference attended by foreign correspondents, Radio Chisinau announced. Talks are also planned at the embassies and missions of former Soviet republics, as well as meetings with the representatives of public and party organizations. Another parliamentary delegation is visiting Kiev.

Esteemed listeners, as we reported yesterday, a meeting was held by the Conciliation Commission to ease the conflict on the left side of the Dnestr. We learned some details from the statements made by the chiefs of the two delegations after their talks. Today Deputy Prime Minister Andreiy Sangeli, the leader of the Moldova delegation, said that the main task of the commission is to achieve a cease-fire. It was agreed to implement the protocol concluded in (?Holergan) aimed at unblocking the bridges across the Dnestr. Likewise, a security zone will be created in order to avoid armed clashes when tension increases on both sides.

The delegation of separatists is to present a number of proposals, something that signals the beginning of a political approach to these problems, Sangeli emphasized.

Representatives of Moldova will be able to visit detained people in order to take note of the conditions in which they live.

Alexandru Caraman, representative of the separatist leaders, referred to the need for the armed forces to withdraw from their positions and to the fact that the status of the territory on the left bank of the Dnestr has to be examined by the parliament or government of the Republic of Moldova.

Attacks on 14th CIS Army in Dnestr Region

OW1003144292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1325 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Major General Yuri Netkachev, commander of the 14th CIS army stationed in Tiraspol, said in an interview with IF [INTERFAX] that he was concerned over the continuing attacks on the servicemen by the Dnestr Republic's troops.

He said that during the last few days there have been several attacks on weapons depots in Tiraspol to seize arms. To thwart possible attacks, land mines were planted near the depots, said the army commander.

Netkachev said that several dogs had exploded on the mines after the guard had sent them on reconnaissance missions.

The commander emphasized that the military would be neutral in the face of attempts by certain leaders to involve the military in the conflict.

Dnestr Bridge Barricades Dismantling Begins

OW1003144592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1325 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday morning, March 10, barricades began to be disassembled on the bridges across the Dnestr, and the troops are being withdrawn from the two banks of the Dnestr in the vicinity of the city of Tiraspol, the administrative center of the Dnestr Republic that was proclaimed in the area in the fall of 1990. This started the implementation of the agreements that had been reached at a Monday sitting of the conciliatory commission. The roads near the city of Dubossary remain blocked, according to reports.

The bridges via the Dnestr near Tiraspol and in other places had been barricaded by Moldova police and the Dnestr Republic's guards following early March armed clashes in Dubossary that led to casualties.

The press center of the Dnestr Republic reports that snipers and machine-gunners repeatedly opened fire on the left bank during March 8 and 9. No casualties have been reported. The Moldovan Interior Ministry press-bureau dismissed the reports as falsehood meant to cause a new flareup of tensions "just when the situation is stabilizing in the republic."

Romanian Convention Seeks Unitary State

OW1003181392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1329 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [9 March] Romania's Foreign Ministry sent a statement to its Moldovan counterpart, expressing support for Kishinev's attitude to the developments in Dubossary. According to the statement, "the Moldovan leadership is doing all it can to prevent a conflict and resolve the existing problems by political methods".

Romania's Foreign Ministry said it is confident that the policy pursued by the neighor state "will induce the paramilitary units of Dnestr Region to leave the area and stop their provocative actions".

The Democratic Convention of Romania (DCR) which involves several leading parties and movements has urged Moldova's government and parliament to declare officially that "any infringement on individuals and territorial integrity of Moldova will be viewed as an infringement on Romania's territory and citizens.

In its statement published in Moldova on Monday the DCR calls for restoring Romanian citizenship for Romanians from Moldova. It also points to the need to "quickly implement political, economic, monetary and cultural measures aimed at reviving the unitary Romanian state".

Dnestr Republic Supreme Soviet in Session

LD1003151692 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 10 Mar 92

[By MOLDOVA-PRESS correspondent]

[Text] Kishinev March 10 TASS— An extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr Republic, the proclamation of which has been described by the Moldovan parliament as anti-constitutional, is going on in Tiraspol.

The session is discussing the tense situation in the area of Dubossary.

A source close to the Dnestr Republic's leadership told MOLDOVA-PRESS, the session also considers a concept of future state and territorial structure of Moldova. According to the same source, the decision taken by the session will be submitted to the Moldovan parliament for further consideration.

Some speakers at the session call for the existence of the Dnestr Republic within Moldova. In the opinion of many political observers, this proposal looks absolutely paradoxical.

Firstly, the Kishinev official leadership is ready to hold negotiations only if the main condition—the inseparability and territorial integrity of the republic of Moldova—is observed.

Secondly, after Moldova is admitted to the U.N. and other international organizations, the international community will hardly support the proposal of the Dnestr Republic's leaders on federative structure of Moldova.

Army, Dnestr Guards Exchange Captured Officers

LD1003223192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] There is relative calm in the Dnestr Republic. There was an exchange of hostages today between the army and the Dnestr Republic guards. Colonel (Stepygin) was seized by the guards a few days ago, and in response the troops detained (Gratov), a leader of the Dnestr guards. Today they were exchanged for one another.

Dnestr Situation Updated

LD1003195592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1901 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Military News" section; "Dnestr Republic Situation Begins To Stabilize"—POSTFACTUM headline]

[Text] Dubossary—On March 9th in Bendery a conciliatory committee on Dnestr Republic situation adopted a decision to coordinate the conditions of para-military formations' withdrawal. A Dnestr Republic Moldavian Republic (PMR) Supreme Soviet extraordinary session is underway in Tiraspol since March 9. PF [POSTFACTUM] has learned that the closed sessions dwell on the political situation obtaining in Dnestr Republic, defense issues and are to work out counter measures against the so called bank war provoked by Moldova.

PF has been told at the PMR president's press center that the night of March 10 several short fire conflicts including those with the use of large-caliber machine guns were recorded. The guardsmen who manned the posts by the bridges claim that marksmen are firing on them but no casualties were reported over the passed 24 hours. Tension around the troops deployed in Dnestr Republic does not alleviate. As Colonel Igor Mukabenov, CO [commanding officer] of an engineers' brigade from Dubossary reported to PF, in the evening of March 9th he had received an ultimatum from Dnestr Republic women's committee demanding that the military equipment and hardware be handed over to arm the city residents otherwise the women intended to capture the unit. Dubossary City Executive Committee officials

explained to PF that was not a matter of arming the city residents but just of better arming the guard and Cossacks.

Major-General Yuriy Netkachev, the commander of the 14th Army, reported to PF that all the approaches to the ammunition depots had been mined with the appropriate notices put up. Yet some people had tried to test the efficiency of mining sending dogs into the minefields. Several of them lost their lives. The participation of Cossacks and volunteers from Romania in the conflict is still the center of attention. Addressing a press conference in Rostov-on-Don held on March 6, Sergey Mescheryakov, the chief of the Don troop region of Cossack alliance, stated that the Cossacks found themselves in the conflict zone purely of their own free will, besides in Dubossary there were communities of Don Cossacks who did not wish to be under Romania where they were being dragged by force. The participation of Cossack volunteers in patrolling the main road junctions, other key points of the city, in Mescheryakov's opinion, could hardly be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Republic. The Cossacks, joining the Republican Guard units, are armed with pistols and submachine guns. To a question, when one could expect the return of Don Cossacks to their native farms and villages, the chief gave the following answer: The Cossacks have recognized the independence of the PMR, the legitimacy of its presidential elections and intend to fight until the conflict is finally settled. The Don Cossacks will leave Dnestr Republic only in case the security of the local population is fully guaranteed.

PF learned that on March 9 that Kishinev and Bucharest categorically denied the participation of Romanian volunteers in the hostilities on the side of Moldova and treated such reports as misinformation.

Parliament Meets To Consider Reforms

LD0703025992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 6 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Chisinau, 6 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—At today's session of the Moldovan parliament the deputies began examining the question of reforming the republic's supreme legislative body.

The reform needs to be linked to the fact that due to the boycott of parliament by deputies from the left bank of the Dnestr, it is difficult to achieve a quorum to adopt laws. In addition, approximately 50 deputies representing the People's Front in essence dictate to the majority what to do during the session's work.

Instead of the present situation it is proposed to create a parliament of 95 deputies. A cut in the number of parliamentary standing commissions is planned, as is a transfer of chairmen.

Snegur Telegrams Russia on Sovereignty

LD0803055992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In a telegram to the chairman of the Russian parliament, Mircea Snegur has asked that no actions be taken that could harm Moldova's state sovereignty. By this he refers to the desire of a number of Russian deputies to raise in parliament the situation in the Dnestr region. The Moldovan president described this as an attempt to violate the principles of the Alma-Ata declaration of the CIS member-states.

Cossacks Provoking 'National Liberation War'

PM0603151592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Mar 92 Morning Edition pp 1-2

[Eduard Kondratov report: "Cossacks Exacerbate Crisis in Dnestr Region"]

[Text] Yesterday deputies gave free rein to their frustrations and flew at the ministers of internal affairs and national security, accusing them of inaction, cowardice, almost treachery. Parliamentarians—at least, very many of them—are convinced that we should no longer stand on ceremony with separatists. They mentioned with particular indignation—more than that!, with fury—the detachments of Don Cossacks participating in the Dubossary events.

More ordinary people also indignantly curse the Cossacks—people in squares, in lines, at home by the radio. If only it were Moldovans alone. Russians living on the right bank of the Dnestr fear the war that is swelling before their eyes. They can foresee that then revenge for ruined lives, as in the Transcaucasus, cannot be avoided, and there will be no hope left of ending inter-ethnic dissension. It is as though a Moldovan of 100 years ago had suddenly been shown an oleograph on which a dashing Cossack is teaching "sense" to non-Russians on the edges of the Russian Empire by means of a pike. You show it to him, and you see that this print does not strike him as at all amusing and that it instills protest and revulsion in him. There is no longer an empire or an "older brother," and you can read in the dimmed Moldovan eyes: You Russians and chauvinists are once again trying to crush us.

On both sides of the Dnestr River newspapers have been writing about the Cossacks since October. Publications on the Right Bank heap abuse on them and depict wild drinking bouts and excesses, in short, they really let rip. On the Left Bank they write about the Cossacks with a certain nostalgia, constantly recalling that these regions were after all the area where the Black Sea Cossack troops lived and served. Bendery, for instance, has its own district hetman. There are plans for various events—to revive the Cossack economy and the ancient Cossack way of life.

After the shooting near the Dubossary bridge 13 December which ended in bloodshed, Centurion M. Bespalov's small detachment was replaced by a large Cossack subunit. Billeting and feeding them was already quite difficult even then. There were also problems between the Cossacks and the local militia. Not because they are a particularly turbulent people, but because of the situation. If you take a couple of hundred high-spirited men away from their families for a long time, put them all together, and leave them with nothing to do, you are asking for trouble. After a month people were replaced by the tour of duty method, but there was still no real work to do. After all, they had come in response to a call to protect the Dnestr region's people from the threats of "pro-Romanian excesses." So far they had nothing to do but provide a customs service and patrols. It was boring but the time to give armed protection to those who called them had not come.

It did come, however, during the night of 2 March. Ecstatically, like young pioneers going off to summer camp, the Cossacks began military actions under the command of military hetman Viktor Rateyev. This deadly game is mind-boggling and nerve-jangling. They showed themselves to be recklessly brave fighters when capturing a rayon police department and when they came under fire in the village of Kochiyeri... At last the Cossacks had found some "real work."

This is all history now. But why are the Cossacks serving the state now? Do they think that Mother Russia authorized them to come and fight in the Dnestr region? Not "Russia generally" but the Russian Federation, a sovereign state, a member of the CIS, and a member of the UN Security Council? Did it ask them to protect the Left Bank of the Dnestr from the Moldovans? Did it order them to fight the sovereign state of Moldova? No, it did not ask or order them to do those things. The Cossack Circle decided to help—first the Don Cossacks, then the greater Cossack movement, from all over the south. The Cossacks calmly informed me of that. It never even occurred to them what a deadly blow their presence here would deal to the prestige of Russia, which is trying to distance itself from suspicions of harboring imperial ambitions.

Whose citizens are they, and what state do they come from? Perhaps the "Don Republic within the Russian Federation"? There is no such thing. If there were, it would be part of Russia. So, one way or the other, are they Russian citizens? "We recognize the Dnestr Republic," a military hetman in colonel's bars told me. Forgive me for asking, Viktor Rateyev, but who is this "we"? An individual, a group of people? Rostov Oblast?..

For 18 months the Russian Government has been hiding its head in the sand, refusing to give its official view of the appearance of a Russian military force in the unrecognized Moldovan Dnestr Republic. Ukraine also looked aside, pretending to see nothing. But this deception could go on only until the armed clashes in Dubossary began to assume the character of an increasingly broad interstate conflict.

Then a young Cossack called Mikhail Zubkov died—and immediately the whole of the quiet Don heard about it. "Now you will see about 5,000 of our men there," Hetman Rateyev said confidently. Reports are already coming in—I do not know if they are accurate—that another two Cossack regiments have been rushed to the Left Bank... Will Russia really go on watching impassively while Cossack military units wage war on its CIS partners? Will Russia really continue to let the Cossacks settle these geopolitical problems simply because they prefer the Dnestr Moldovan Republic to Moldova and consider it more their native land? And what about Ukraine, which is calmly letting these troops pass through?

The recognition or nonrecognition of the Dnestr Republic is a matter for parliaments and governments. "In this case," the Cossacks say, "we are defending Russian people." I cannot think of a worse service to do one's fellow countrymen. "A wave of anti-Russian feeling is starting in Moldova," National Security Minister A. Plugaru said anxiously in parliament. That is no surprise. Vast mobs of Moldovans are blockading the Interior Ministry building now, furiously demanding weapons. No matter how many correct words deputies say about the character of the conflict, in the consciousness of the masses it is acquiring the features of a national liberation war against the "Russian aggressor."

On the Left Bank of the Dnestr today events are developing almost like in Yugoslavia.

In Right-Bank Moldova they are talking and writing indignantly today about the Cossacks who have come to "protect Russian borders from the Romanians." They are bandits, pillaging, killing, and raping... Monsters devoid of all humanity...

That is not all the Cossacks are. Some of them are the scum of the earth, it seemed to me. There are some who will kill for money. But the majority of them are ordinary workers, teachers, accountants, cooperative members, lawyers, and former militiamen who have taken time off to perform what they see as their sacred Cossack mission in the Dnestr region. In fact they have neither a moral nor a legal right to do what they are doing.

Valeriy Moshnyakov, recently a correspondent for VOLGOGRADSKAYA PRAVDA and now a high-ranking official in the Don Army, admitted to us that it was his consciousness of the high birth of his hetman forebears which prompted him to align with the Cossack movement. It was not for money that they came here, they say. In their words, the Cossacks are only getting free food here; their pay comes from sponsors in the Cossack movement—small enterprises and their own firms in Sochi, Rostov, and other cities.

The problems of the Dnestr region cannot be resolved by Cossack pawns. I am also convinced that Moldova is not

going to try to resolve the Dnestr question by brute force. "Go away, for God's sake, go away!" an old Cossack woman passionately pleads from the TV screen. "I do not want to be ashamed of the fact that I am of your stock..." I admit that the author of these lines is proud of his great grandfather—a Don Cossack hetman. I do not know much about him, it is true, but I know the main thing—that he served his native Russian state faithfully and truly. Should I now hide that fact from people? Or perhaps I should explain to them the difference between the Cossacks in the past, who were truly statesmen, and the present irresponsible ones who are just fond of bloody games?

Meanwhile, large police forces are being assembled on the Right Bank. And another two aircraft have arrived bring Cossacks ready to fight.

The conciliation commission seeking ways to resolve this dramatic situation is continuing work in Dubossary.

The sides are headed by A. Sangeli, Moldovan first vice premier, and G. Marakutsa, chairman of the Dnestr Moldovan Republic Supreme Soviet. The first protocol has been signed, the main condition of which is a cease-fire.

Precise statistics on the casualties of the events in Dubossary have been established. In all 30 people have been wounded, the vast majority Dubossary residents. Three inhabitants of Kochiyeri village died in combat on the military unit's side. The Dnestr formations have lost eight dead. Including two who died during the night of 2 March. There are no statistics on Moldovan police losses.

Snegur Interviewed After Meeting UN's Ghali

LD0303175992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0245 GMT 3 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations, 3 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—A meeting between UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus Ghali and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur was held here on 2 March. The talk took place shortly after the plenary meeting of the resumed 46th session of the UN General Assembly, at which Moldova was accepted as a UN member along with eight other states.

Our exchange of views with the secretary general began in the morning when Moldova was accepted into the United Nations, Snegur told this ITAR-TASS correspondent following the meeting. The secretary general and I talked about the fact that this historic moment in the life of Moldova essentially signifies the recognition of our country's independence. We spoke about the event being marked by a development of events in Moldova that is in line with the UN Charter and other documents.

In order to be accessible to the business world, to foreign capital, and to foreign investors, our country has to be successful in terms of the observance of human rights, including those of ethnic minorities, the president of Moldova continued. We realize this. I assured both the secretary general and the chairman of the current General Assembly session that the leaders in Moldova will do all within their power to see that human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities are observed. As in all the independent states of the former Soviet Union, we have many problems. We are hoping for support from the United Nations as a whole and from its individual organizations in resolving these problems.

In my speech at the General Assembly I emphasized the need for the CIS at the present transitional stage, in view of the high degree of integration of the economy in the former USSR, the Moldovan leader added. At the same time we are making it clear that this does not affect our path toward independence or integration into the structures of other commonwealths or communities. While participating in the CIS, we feel free to implement our own foreign policy and to establish mutually profitable economic links with other countries. In any case, I personally would like the CIS to stay together for as long as possible. I do not see that this will be a hindrance, whatever the circumstances in the future. The CIS can exist, and bilateral and other, even trilateral, links can be maintained as well. Of course, in order to reach world standards, we must modernize everything we have and not be simply a base for the production of semiprocessed goods.

The units of the former Soviet Army located on the territory of our republic [word indistinct] acquired the status of foreign troops after our declaration of independence, Snegur continued. I can tell you that we are involved in successful talks with representatives of the high command regarding the future of these troops. We are near the idea of creating a national army of Moldova with the majority of these troops forming the base.

Replying to a question as to when Moldova's permanent mission at the United Nations will open, Snegur said: We will endeavor to have the mission and our embassy in Washington open within the next two months. Initially, only one representative will be working at our mission at the United Nations.

ITAR-TASS said that journalists have noted that a representative of Romania is sitting with the Moldovan delegates in the seats reserved for the Moldovan delegation in the General Assembly hall. ITAR-TASS asked the president of Moldova to clarify this. There is nothing out of the ordinary in this, noted Snegur. Romania is our sister and a neighboring country. The Romanian mission has helped us a great deal both during the preparatory period and over the last few days. We deemed it necessary, as a sign of gratitude, for the Romanian representative to be beside us at this formal moment.

Mircea Snegur left New York on the evening of 2 March.

Kazakhstan

REUTER Cited on Nazarbayev Hospitalization

LD1003214992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] REUTER has reported that Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev was hospitalized on Tuesday [10 March] because of kidney disease. Nazarbayev is being examined, but his condition is not cause for concern. He is receiving important guests at the hospital.

Nazarbayev Calls on West To Send Help

OW1003210692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1937 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] To mark his 100th day as President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev spoke to the press Tuesday [10 March] from his article "From the Imperial Union to the Commonwealth of Independent States". In the article he states "in order to maintain socio-political stability on one-sixth of the earth's territory, now like never before the West's help is needed". Nazarbayev said such help must be "purposefully" given to those regions which can best utilize it. Nazarbayev writes that considering the natural richness of Kazakhstan and its steady course toward reform it can be said that Kazakhstan can become a stronghold of democracy and market economy in the center of the Euro-Asian mainland with the help of the West.

President on 'Supranational' Structures for CIS

LD1003153392 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 10 Mar 92

[by KAZTAG correspondent Konstantin Borodinov]

[Text] Alma-Ata March 10 (TASS)—Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, believes that the Commonwealth of Independent States needs supranational coordination structures. "Without them the Commonwealth will be an empty sound, a beautiful form that is filled with no real content," Nazarbayev writes in his article "From Imperial Union to the Commonwealth of Independent States," published in the republican newspaper KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA on Tuesday [10 March].

After the hundred days as president elected by the whole people, Nazarbayev analyses the state of affairs in Kazakhstan, the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States, the factors interfering with the development in the former Soviet republics.

Nazarbayev attaches special importance to economic coordination. He regards this as task number one and believes that without shaping a common market of a new type it is extremely difficult to overcome a lag and and gradually enter the mainstream of the contemporary civilisation.

The president of Kazakhstan writes that practical implementation of so complex a plan requires political stability and a system of legal guarantees for the functioning of foreign businesses.

Foreign politicians, representatives of the business circles should remember that versatile aid of the West is now needed more than ever in order to preserve socio-political stability on one- sixths of the surface. The situation develops in such a way that this aid will be most effective if it is purpose-oriented. In other words, it is naive to try to reform the entire social giant at once. It would be better to form islets of developed economy and democracy which would have a tendency to expand.

Regarding the situation in Kazakhstan, Nazarbayev writes:

"I do not subscribe to a fashionable view that a multi-ethnic state is more favourable for the implementation of radical economic and democratic transformations. I believe specific features of multi-ethnic Kazakhstan offer advantages and it is necessary to proceed from them. Friendship of peoples is not only our boon, but also our faith and our hope."

No Obstacles in Joining North Atlantic Council

LD1003170692 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 10 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Boris Krivoshei]

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—Kazakhstan has no obstacles for participation in the activities of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, members of this organization are not against it as well, a staffer of the Kazakh permanent representation in Moscow told ITAR-TASS.

As for the current extraordinary council session in Brussels at the level of foreign ministers, the Kazakh minister failed to attend it as he is very busy, said the staffer, commenting on the REUTERS report that Kazakhstan is the only CIS state that is not attending the Brussels session.

He stressed Kazakhstan plans to participate in the organization's activities in future.

Nazarbayev Meets With UK Energy Secretary

LD0603091592 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Today Nursultan Nazarbayev met John Wakeham, the British secretary of state for energy. The president briefly familiarized Wakeham at his own

request with the state of affairs in the republic. Nursultan Abish-ulu noted that Kazakhstan first intends to develop those sectors of the economy which require less expenditure and make more profit for the interest of the multi- national people of the republic. In this connection, he believes that British businessmen are also not [words indistinct] from this.

At the meeting there was also discussion on the matters of the know-how fund as a means of possible British humanitarian aid to Kazakhstan during the transitional period to a market economy. At the same time there was also talks on cooperation between the two states in the nuclear, coal, gas, and petroleum industrial sectors.

Sir Rodric Braithwaite, plenipotentiary and extraordinary ambassador of Great Britain to the Russian Federation and also the Republic of Kazakhstan, and Kazakh Deputy Prime Minister Abdullayev took part in the meeting. Today the British delegation held talks with representatives of the Ministry of Kazakhstan for Energy and Petroleum Resources.

Agricultural Cooperation Discussed With Israel

LD0703135392 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 0500 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Yitzhaq Shamir, head of the Israeli Government, has received Kachum Seredykov, first deputy minister of agriculture of Kazakhstan, who is on a visit to Israel. During the meeting agreement was reached on the development of cooperation between the two countries. As Seredykov stated in an interview for Israeli television, Kazakhstan is interested in making use of Israel's experience in the area of cotton, vegetable, and grape growing; land improvement; and training specialists.

Chinese Group Meets Supreme Soviet Chairman

LD0903073592 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Serikbolsyn Abdildin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, today received a delegation headed by Hao Xiobing, general secretary of the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament. The Supreme Soviet leader informed the Chinese guest about the work of the republic's highest legislative body and its role in promoting and developing versatile contacts with foreign countries.

The need to promote further mutually advantageous cooperation between China and Kazakhstan was emphasized. Essential progress has been achieved in this regard. At the same time it is necessary to intensify contacts on a people to people level, taking into account the closeness of ethnic, historic, and cultural traditions of the peoples of the two countries.

The Chinese side expressed its wish to strengthen friendly, neighborly relations with independent Kazakhstan. Li Huwei, Chinese charge d'affairs in the Republic of Kazakhstan, and Anuar Alinjanov, chairman of the republican Committee for Peace and Reconciliation, and Kazakh people's deputies took part in the meeting.

Dzhezkazgan Signs Accord With PRC District

LD1103060392 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Summary] An agreement on exchanging goods and on technical and economic cooperation has been reached between the administration of Dzhezkazgan Oblast and the government of the Ili Kazak Autonomous District in the PRC. The agreement is based on the barter system and on reciprocal payments in rubles. It will help accelerate the economic reforms in the oblast. Joint enterprises for growing vegetables will be set up on land that has previously been infertile semidesert. Dzhezkazgan is to receive minitractors in exchange for mineral fertilizers and clothes at Chinese domestic market prices. The PRC will also supply Dzhezkazgan with powdered milk, vegetable oil, and sugar in March and April.

Joint Cooperation Communique Signed With PRC

LD0203053692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1844 GMT 28 Feb 92

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Kashirov]

[Text] Beijing, 28 Feb (TASS)—The five-day visit to China by the governmental delegation of the republic of Kazakhstan, headed by Prime Minister S.A. Tereshchenko, ended today with a visit to Urumchi, the administrative center of the Xinjiang-Uygur autonomous rayon of the PRC.

After the delegation left Urumchi for home, a Sino-Kazakh joint communique, which was signed here on 26 February by the heads of governments of the two countries, was circulated in Beijing. The document records an agreement between the sides to develop interstate relations of friendship, neighborliness, and cooperation on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, and mutual benefit and peaceful cooexistence.

The communique underlines that the advantages of geographical proximity and economic mutual complementarity will be used to the maximum in developing trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the future.

The sides signed agreements on trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation, on cooperation in transport and communication routes, on reciprocal trips by citizens of both countries and on the establishment of additional border checkpoints. An agreement on the setting up of a Chinese-Kazakhstan commission for trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation and

an agreement on the granting of a trade credit by China to Kazakhstan have been also signed.

One of the paragraphs of the joint document is about border issues. It says that the sides have positively assessed the results reached by China and the former USSR in talks on sections of the present Chinese-Kazakhstan border. The two sides will continue to discuss border issues in the spirit of equal consultations, mutual understanding, and mutual concessions. They will be based on the existing border agreements between the two countries and be in accordance with generally accepted principles of international law in order to find a fair and rational decision acceptable to both sides.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Turkey

LD0303222892 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT 3 Mar 92

[By KOZTAG-TASS correspondent Murat Buldekbayev]

[Text] Alma Ata March 3 TASS—President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan on Monday [9 March] received a Turkish Government delegation led by Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin, on an official visit to the republic.

During talks, both sides noted with satisfaction undoubtable convergence between the two states. Contacts on the government on unofficial levels are increasing. With the recognition by Turkey of Kazakhstan's independence and establishment of diplomatic relations they can be characterized as full-scale.

The current exchange of opinions is yet another evidence of this. It covered a broad spectrum of political and economic issues and demonstrated the striving by Kazakhstan and Turkey to further deepen mutually-beneficial cooperation.

Nursultan Nazarbayev and Hikmet Cetin also held eye-to-eye talks.

On the same day, Turkish Parliamentarians, who arrived in Kazakhstan in the government delegation, were received by Chairman of the Republican Supreme Soviet Serikbolsyn Abdildin.

Kazakh Foreign Minister Tuleutai Suleymenov and Hikmet Cetin signed a protocol to establish diplomatic relations at the level of embassies.

Muslims Urged To Fight in Nagorno-Karabakh

OW1003112592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1019 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leadership of the Kazakh national-democratic party Zheltoksan (December) has urged people to volunteer to defend Muslims "from Armenian militants in Nagorno-Karabakh". The decision followed news about the developments in Khodzhaly, Nagorno-Karabakh, where according to Azeri sources, over 1,000 people died.

In an interview for IF [INTERFAX] the chairman of the party Hasen Kozhakhmetov said that he intends to meet President Nazarbayev to discuss the issue of volunteers. He sent a message to the president on Tuesday [10 March] asking for assistance in the form of money, weapons and uniforms. He said that if government bodies refuse to cooperate, party activists will raise funds in the republic themselves.

According to Mr. Kozhakhmetov, the congress of the Turkmenistan movement in Tashkent on March 7 also supported the idea of forming a Muslim battalion for action in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Results of Government Inquiry Into Baykonur

LD0503205492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1532 GMT 5 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" Section]

[Text] The government commission, set up to investigate the developments of February 23-25 at the Baykonur space-launch complex, discharged the head of the Baykonur military-construction department. Aside from Stanislav Chukhrov, head of the chief military-construction department of the space-launch complex, some other officers were also discharged.

On March 4 the commission submitted its conclusions to the Kazakh Cabinet of Ministers. In its opinion, the command of the specialized chief military-construction department of the Baykonur space-launch complex and some of its units did not take appropriate measures for improving the working and living conditions of soldier builders. They have not won the respect of the soldiers and have proved incapable of keeping the situation under control. As a result of all that, some soldier builders committed crimes, damaged and set on fire several barracks and warehouses, stole food and other property, and deserted their units.

Nazarbayev Chairs Constitutional Commission

LD0903213792 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0000 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] A regular session of the Constitutional Commission chaired by Nursultan Nazarbayev took place yesterday. Sapargaliyev, head of the working group on its preparation, reported on the ammendments made to the draft constitution with consideration given to the previously made observations and wishes. For example: It was proposed to call Kazakhstan an independent, democratic, and sovereign state. Much attention was also given to the proposal on transferring to a two-chamber parliament. Its authors claimed that this will have

undoubted merit and it entirely accords with the republic's aspiration to build a truly democratic state. Those in support of an alternative view insisted that a one-chamber parliament has not exhausted its resourses. Conditions have to be created for it to improve its work.

There was a wide exchange of views on issues of the functioning of presidential power, on a possible procedure for the dissolution of parliament, the role and place in the life of society of a constitutional court, state security committee, procurators, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and other matters.

The results of the discussion were summed up by Nazarbayev. I understand, he said, the feelings of some of the members of the commission who show their anger. At the same time I fully disagree with the view of one of them saying that the time is pressing. We are creating a constitution at whose center must stand the human being, irrespective of his nationality. Therefore, the constitution has to unite peoples of Kazakhstan and not separate them, cause a positive reaction in foreign countries. For these reasons it is simply unacceptable to rush this work. Every article of the draft constitution should be considered very deeply, every sentence of it has to find responses in heart and mind.

The president noted that the main trends of the draft law can be agreed on but all the incoming proposals and suggestions have to be scrupulously considered. However, the last word has to be said not by politicians but by individual people who live in our multinational Kazakhstan. Only thus can the republic's future constitution be truly a people's constitution.

Prime Minister Reports to Oblast Leaders

LD1103060992 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0200 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] A seminar for heads of administration from oblasts and towns under republican jurisdiction started in Alma-Ata on 9 March. It was opened by Prime Minister Tereshchenko, who delivered a report. The administration leaders will be addressed by deputy prime ministers, ministers, heads of departments, and senior officials from the presidential apparatus and Cabinet of Ministers. There will be a detailed discussion of the legal foundations for the activity of heads of administrations and their role in transforming the economic structure and in the social and cultural development of the republic's regions. There will also be a discussion of the program for the transition to the market and ways and means of implementing it. Consideration will be given to the protection of socially vulnerable sections of the population, agrarian policy, privatization in the countryside, organization of work to fight crime in the economic sphere, and several other problems connected with the new form of executive power in the period of transition.

The seminar will last for three days. A meeting between the administration heads and the president of the republic is planned.

Trade Union Criticizes Statement on Disbanding

LD1103060592 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0000 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] A statement adopted by a plenum of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Kazakhstan says: Recently there have been increasingly frequent articles in the mass media by the leaders of Birlesu and the independent trade union center calling for the trade unions to be disbanded and their property nationalized. The council of the federation of trade unions has repeatedly drawn the attention of the public to Birlesu. It is an organization for entrepreneurs and a defender of the interests of [word indistinct].

The trade union federation resolutely protests the illegal appeals, which amount to open provocation aimed at destabilizing the situation in society. We request that the republic's Ministry of Justice make a legal assessment of these articles and publish the appropriate explanation in the mass media, says the statement.

Armenia

Reportage on Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh

President Says Turkey Not Neutral

OW1003203792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1937 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan said during his meeting with US Congressman Wayne Owens in Yerevan on Tuesday [10 March] that Turkey has begun to depart from the proclaimed course of neutrality towards the conflict in Transcaucasia.

According to the SNARK news agency, Ter-Petrosyan drew that conclusion from a number of statements made by Turkish officials recently, particularly from President Ozal's suggestion that it would be good to show Armenia a bit of muscle.

The press center of the Armenian parliament has told INTERFAX that Wayne Owens is planning a trip to Nagorno-Karabakh for the near future.

Iran Prepares To Mediate

NC1003192992 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] (Vahram Khasemi), Iranian charge d'affaires ad interim, will arrive in Yerevan on 11 March in a special plane carrying medicine for Nagorno-Karabakh. The opening of the Iranian Embassy is expected. It will be temporarily housed in Yerevan's Ani Hotel.

Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad [surname indistinct] also is getting ready to visit Armenia on a mediation mission.

This will be the second visit by Iranian Foreign Ministry officials, who aim to settle the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati recently visited Baku and Yerevan.

The Armenian Interior Ministry press center informed us that a pontoon bridge will be set up across Araks River in the coming days. It will facilitate transportation between Armenia and Iran.

Concern Over Foreign Troops

OW1003205392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1937 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenia is concerned about the initiative of the ZHOLTOKSAN National Democratic party in Kazakhstan to send a volunteer force to Nagorno-Karabakh to "defend local Muslims against Armenian militants." Eduard Simonyants, assistant national security adviser to the Armenian president, has described it as an attempt "to turn the Karabakhi people's struggle for national self-determination into a war of religions." The plan was announced on Tuesday [10 March] by ZHOLTOKSAN's leader Khasen Kozhakhmetov, who said that the March 7 congress of the Turkic movement TURKESTAN in Tashkent had, too, supported the idea of forming a Muslim battalion to fight in Nagorno-Karabakh. An official of the Kazakh president's press service told IF [INTERFAX] on Tuesday that ZHOLTOKSAN's efforts to set up a paramilitary unit are illegal and should be looked into by the law-enforcement bodies.

10 CIS Officers in Custody

OW1003210592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1937 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ten officers of a garrison stationed in the Armenian city of Artik who were taken prisoner March 8 still have not been released, Maj.-Gen. Nikolay Stolyarov told the same press conference Tuesday [10 March]. He said that the commander of the 7th Army Maj.-Gen. Fedor Reut met with the president of Armenia Tuesday. Levon Ter-Petrosyan assured that steps would be taken to free the prisoners.

At the press conference Armenia's actions were described as a gross violation of the protocol to the 1949 Geneva Convention on the defense of victims of international military conflicts which forbids taking prisoners. The ten officers of the Artik garrison were taken prisoner March 8 after they were invited to a meeting of the city council. The same day Armenian soldiers blockaded the units and opened fire from the roofs of nearby houses and from cars. They demanded that the servicemen surrender their weapons and leave the compound, give them 5 thousand projectiles for the GRAD launchers, 2 million automatic cartridges, mines, and other ammunition. During the 10-hour shooting Lt. Mischenko and Private Kot were killed. Two more servicemen were wounded.

CIS Tanks Fire at Village

LD1003222692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Armenian village of Karachinar has been subject to intensive shelling since this morning. The rayon center of Askeran is undergoing massed shelling from tanks of the 23d Division of the 4th Army of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] Armed Forces, stationed on the border of the Askeranskiy rayon of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and Agdamskiy rayon of Azerbaijan. There are wounded and destruction. At midday, a whole salvo from a rocket launcher was fired at the Armenian village of Shosh from the direction of the town of Shusha. This information is from Armenian sources.

President on Azerbaijan

NC1003191892 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] President Levon Ter-Petrosyan on 7 March received Bernard Kouchner, French secretary of state for humanitarian affairs, who is visiting Transcaucasia within the framework of CSCE resolutions and according to the mandate by that prestigious international organization in order to negotiate with the sides on opening "humanitarian corridors" for assistance to Nagorno-Karabakh.

He visited Baku, Shusha, and Agdam and held talks with the Azerbaijani leadership but was unable to visit Stepanakert and other Armenian settlements. He told the president that he is now leaving for France but will visit the region again to go to Stepanakert and transfer the first batch of humanitarian assistance to Nagorno-Karabakh. Kouchner underlined that the best prerequisite for the organization of the humanitarian assistance would be a cease-fire and the permanent presence of international observers in Nagorno-Karabakh. Representatives of "Doctors of the World" and "Doctors Without Borders" organizations are now in the Azerbaijani and Armenian settlements in Nagorno-Karabakh.

At the request of the guests, Levon Ter-Petrosyan spoke about the future of the Armenian leadership and the possible course of developments following the change in the Azerbaijani leadership. He noted that the developments indicate that the new Azerbaijani leadership will step up pressure on Nagorno-Karabakh, and therefore it is necessary that the organizations interested in maintaining stability and restoring peace and the international community should redouble their efforts to bring about a cease-fire and an end to the bloodshed.

At the end of the conversation, during which a number of other problems pertaining to the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue were also discussed, Kouchner pointed to the importance of quickly exchanging ambassadors between France and Armenia to forge practical and full diplomatic relations.

On the same day the president also received U.S. Congressman Wayne Owens, who is visiting Armenia at the invitation of the Armenian Assembly to examine the situation and convey his findings to the American Government. Noting that the republic is facing a grave economic situation due to the power shortage resulting from the blockade, the congressman asked for information about the type and direction of assistance which would best help overcome the crisis.

At the guest's request, the president enumerated the views of the leadership of the republic on the peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, in particular the possibilities of an immediate cease-fire.

The president noted that two new factors are influencing the regional situation. One is the new Azerbaijani leadership, which to prove its radicalism will try to increase pressure on Nagorno-Karabakh. The other is the Turkish officials' statements, which provide sufficient grounds for thinking that Turkey is deviating from its neutral position. While the public pressure on the officials in Turkey might be understandable, nevertheless those statements made at the government level do not help stabilize the situation in the region. The international community, including the Unites States, must use its influence in this regard.

The sides also discussed the mobilization of efforts by the Armenian organizations and of the Armenian community in general in the United States so that steps taken can be more effective and the influence on the U.S. Government more tangible.

The congressman assured he would do everything possible to convey the real course of events in Nagorno-Karabakh to the highest levels of the administration, and to bring about practical measures.

Military Strengths Noted

LD0903192292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [V. Sarkisyan, Armenian defense minister] Several months ago we started setting up a National Guard to be part of the republic's Interior Ministry. Our calculations show that in order to ensure the republic's security we need to have a regular army of 30,000-35,000 men. (?We are now making) very substantial amendments to these calculations.

[Commentator A. Goncharov] According to official data from the Azerbaijan Popular Front, the republic's regular national army now numbers 150 men. Baku claims that in the Karabakh fighting brigades of local people and the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] are taking part on the Azerbaijani side. The OMON manpower for the entire republic is put at about 500 men. There is no overall command of the Azerbaijani units. According to the data, the CIS command handed over only nonmilitary assets from several former Soviet Army units to Azerbaijan; it did not give any weapons, which in the main have been removed from the republic. It is the servicemen themselves, says the Popular Front, who are trading in weapons, and this includes high-ranking officers. Several officers of the former Soviet Army have been detained on charges of selling weapons and ordnance in Azerbaijan.

Yerevan-Stepanakert Flights Resumed

LD1003222792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2007 GMT 10 Mar 92

["Yerevan-Stepanakert Air Flights Resumed on March 10"—POSTFACTUM headline; from the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Yerevan—The flights were halted following a November 17, 1990 seizure of Stepanakert airport by special militia units of Azerbaijan Interior Ministry. Seizure of the village of Khodzhaly in close proximity to the airport by the Armenians has made it possible to resume air flights.

Supreme Soviet Adopts Bills on Defense

NC1103120892 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Report from the Supreme Soviet session on 10 March]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified reporter] Today's Armenian Supreme Soviet session was productive, adopting two important documents: one a bill on the defense of the Armenian Republic and another on the military missions [kochumner] of the armed forces. Both bills were presented by the Supreme Soviet's Standing Commission for the Establishment of Independent Statehood and National Policy Affairs.

The Armenian armed forces, which are called upon to defend the republic's independence, security and territorial integrity, are formed on the basis of the state's military doctrine, which the law says is defensive.

The law on defense and military missions is called The Law on the Officers Corps, Junior Officers, Sergeants and Privates, and Military Missions of the Armenian Republic Armed Forces.

The bills were examined quickly, almost without any argument. Addenda and observations were related to editing.

Most of the deputies were displeased by the law's use of non-Armenian terminology, to which the Armenian defense minister referred, calling on deputies to adopt the law, taking certain considerations into account.

After the law was adopted, my colleague Mesrop Sahakyan spoke with deputies:

[Sahakyan] The parliament adopted at first reading, The Law on the Defense of the Armenian Republic. During the recess I spoke with Shavarsh Kocharyan, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Foreign Relations. I asked him:

[Begin recording] Mr. Kocharyan, what do you think about the law which is one of our first steps toward consolidating our statehood?

[Kocharyan] It is one of the most important laws. We were waiting for its adoption for the past (?few) months [words indistinct]. We, as parliament's National Democratic Group, had asked the Standing Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs to immediately prepare an armed forces bill. The current situation means things cannot be delayed.

[Sahakyan] What would you say about the law's specific articles?

[Kocharyan] Certain principles gave rise to debate and the law was adopted with reservations. Some matters were taken out to be examined by the second reading, one such issue dealing with army involvement in the republic's domestic affairs. The Army is set up to protect Armenia from foreign enemies. It is specifically stated that the armed forces has the job of defending the constitutional order. We think this is a very ambiguous definition [words indistinct]. It might give a group of officers the opportunity to stage a coup on the pretext of defending the constitutional order. Such controversial provisions were taken out. We will raise these matters later. Because of the need for urgency, we took out such provisions, enabling the entire [word indistinct] to endorse it at the first reading. [passage omitted]

[Sahakyan] Mr. Kocharyan, what should be Armenia's defense doctrine in the current conditions?

[Kocharyan] Following the collapse of the former USSR [words indistinct], three republics emerged in the region but, unfortunately, because Soviet strategy was based on countering NATO, it was envisaged that Armenian territory would be handed over right after an attack. The defense lines were drawn 300 to 500 km inside Georgian and Azerbaijani territory, which is why most arms and ammunitions are found there. In a situation like that, the principle of each republic getting what is found on its territory contradicts the principle of equality. The neighboring states must have military equality; only this could prevent a war breaking out. [words indistinct] It is meaningless and futile to try and stop Azerbaijan forming an army. It will because any independent state has the right to set up its own army. The former USSR's arms and ammunition must be redistributed equally among the three republics [words indistinct]. Our evolving military strategy must defend this principle. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Azerbaijan

Official Says Mutalibov's Resignation 'Plotted'

LD1003222192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2007 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Baku—The president of Azerbaijan resignation was plotted, and there was also a plot of a state coup, says Rasim Agayev, chief of Azerbaijan president's press-service. Rasim Agayev told PF [POSTFACTUM] correspondent that the demands of President Ayaz Mutalibov's resignation set by the National Public Front and several members of the republican Supreme Soviet's National Council were understandable as Mutalibov's rating dropped after the Khodzhaly tragedy. However, Agayev believes that there was also a plot aimed at making a coup d'etat, and this one involved authorities

trusted by the president. By inaction and misinforming these people further failed the president blocked in the parliament on March 5-6 by the ralliers.

I believe that the same forces as in January 1990 were acting behind the scene this time. In those days some of the deputies speaking at the extraordinary parliament session openly called the events another power shift in Azerbaijan, noted Agayev.

Islamic Front Spokesman on Armenian 'Intruders'

AU1103092792 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 9 Mar 92 p 2

[Telephone interview with Abdul Abdulayev, "spokesman for the Islamic Front, one of the most radical sections of the Azerbaijani Patriotic Front movement," by Szerdahelyi on 8 March; place not given: "We Will Not Stop Until Yerevan!—According to Baku, the Time of Punishment Has Arrived"]

[Text] While in New York the Azerbaijani foreign minister was holding negotiations on sending UN peacekeeping troops to Nagorno-Karabakh, in Baku the overthrown president was to be replaced by nationalist leaders. It is not at all impossible that extremists will also start an all-out war against Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. We interviewed A'.:ul Abdulayev on their plans.

[Szerdahelyi] According to our information, your armed men are occupying an increasing number of Armenian settlements in Nagorno-Karabakh. What is your ultimate objective?

[Abdulayev] Our ultimate objective is to liberate Nagorno-Karabakh and clear it of the Armenian intruders. However, since this war was started from Yerevan, we will, if necessary, take up arms against Armenia and will not stop until Yerevan if need be!

[Szerdahelyi] But this war was not provoked by Yerevan! Four years ago, Armenians were actually massacred in Sumgait!

[Abdulayev] History will show what actually happened and who was right, but deciding this is not the most important problem at the moment. It is an actual miracle that the Armenians did not attack us earlier, but now, the time of punishment has come.

[Szerdahelyi] Your radical wing is threatening with a total war while your foreign minister is asking for UN help.

[Abdulayev] That man is not our foreign minister; they are the men of (resigned President) Mutalibov. We do not need any UN intervention and a person negotiating with the United Nations is acting against our people's will. If this foreign minister does not like the voice of the Azerbaijani people, we will oust him, too! Much bigger forces support us then you would think. Millions of Azerbaijani people are with us. Why do you think Mutalibov resigned? Because we demanded his resignation at a demonstration of 100,000 people.

[Szerdahelyi] We know about a demonstration of 50,000....

[Abdulayev] I am saying that 100,000 of us were waiting for the departure of that man because he did not solve anything. The new leaders have one week left to act according to our wishes, otherwise, they will also have to go.

[Szerdahelyi] The temporarily appointed president said that the Nagorno-Karabakh issue should be decided in negotiations.

[Abdulayev] We have nothing to negotiate about. We have had enough of being misled. In any case, what should we say to the Azeri mothers and wives whose children and husbands were massacred by the bandits? How should we face the mourners? No, negotiations are out of the question. We demand that Nagorno-Karabakh be cleared in the shortest possible time! If they do not listen to our words, then we know what we must do. Even today there are many tens of thousands of people in the streets of Baku; we together are listening to the news from Nagorno-Karabakh, and if necessary, we will surround the Parliament building at any moment.

[Szerdahelyi] Is it true that certain former Soviet units have joined the fight alongside the Azerbaijanis?

[Abdulayev] We do not need any external help, especially from those who kept our country under occupation until now. The Russians have to clear away from here, otherwise they, too, will share the fate of the Armenians. Do you think that we are going to ask for the help of people who, for years, terrorized Baku's people with curfews and states of emergency? Come on now, they should clear away from here!

[Szerdahelyi] You have just said that you do not want any foreign help. Nevertheless, you welcome Turkey's help.

[Abdulayev] How can anyone call help from our blood-brothers foreign help? We are one people and one family. We are happy that we do not need to deny this anymore. And we are happy that our Turkish brothers do not let us down in time of trouble. We will win!

Nagorno-Karabakh Appeals to Azerbaijan

LD1003183492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Hope that the new Azerbaijan leadership will renounce force in dealing with the Nagorno-Karabakh problem was expressed in a statement circulated in Yerevan today by the press center of the Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh republic. The document contains an appeal to the Azerbaijani authorities to take resolute steps aimed at putting an end to military actions.

Stepanakert Shelling Breaks 'Secret Truce'

LD1003193792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1747 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 10 March (ITAR-TASS)—Three salvoes from "Grad" rocket launchers were fired this afternoon at Stepanakert (Khankendy). An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by telephone from the Nagorno-Karabakh internal affairs administration that there is destruction in the town and fires have broken out as a result of shelling from the direction of Shusha. There are dead and wounded, the numbers of whom are being clarified. Stepanakert has not been shelled since 28 February. And so the secret truce between Stepanakert and Shusha has been violated. Armenian self-defense forces were forced to return fire according to a representative of the internal affairs administration.

Two salvoes from the same "Grad" launchers were also directed from Shusha at the Armenian village of Shosh of Askeranskiy Rayon, where there are also casualties. Today, the rayon centers of Askeran and Martuni, situated on the eastern border of Nagorno- Karabakh, were subjected to periodic shelling by tanks.

'Volunteer Military Subunits' Mobilized

LD1003210492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] It has been reported from Baku that the formation of volunteer military subunits for participation in combat actions in Karabakh has begun there. Volunteers from 20 to 40 years of age who have served in the army are being accepted into the subunits.

Youth League Appeals for Pressure on Armenia

NC1003161192 Baku Radio Baku Netkwork in Azeri 2000 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] The Azerbaijan Youth League republic-level executive board has made the following appeal:

We tell CIS peoples, youth unions, and charity organizations, participants in the Helsinki Act, the UN Human Rights Commission, and all peace-loving peoples that the armed Armenian bandits, using heavy combat material and vehicles, attacked Khodzhaly city in Azerbaijan's Karabakh region on 26 and 27 February. Violent acts like those committed by the fascists in [name indistinct] town in Belarus were committed in Khodzhaly, where more than 1,000 people, including women, children, and elderly people, were either shot and killed or tortured to death. Many people were wounded and many others taken prisoner. Many are missing. This despicable act of terrorism underlines the military campaign launched by Armenia against our republic and its peaceful people.

We appeal to everyone and to all pertinent organizations in this historic and difficult time to put political and economic pressure on Armenia and its supporters to end the bloodshed.

Nagorno-Karabakh Called 'Turkic Homeland'

NC0603090192 Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 29 Feb 92 p 6

[Text] Baku—Ebulfez Elchibey, leader of the Azerbaijan Popular Front, has said that "Karabakh is a Turkic homeland and it is going to stay that way." He described the clashes in the region as "a declaration of war on Azerbaijan" and noted that "this is a very negative development."

In a disclosure to the YENISEY NEWS AGENCY, Elchibey claimed that Russian Armed Forces units have attacked Karabakh together with the Armenians and noted that the Armenian lobby is trying to do everything it can to put Azerbaijan in a difficult situation. He also claimed that President Ayaz Mutalibov and his officials fear Moscow and argued that they are dependent on the Moscow officials. Elchibey asserted: "A war has been declared on Azerbaijan. The Armenians wish to reduce the importance of the problem by creating the impression that it is only related to Karabakh. But Azerbaijan is waging a struggle for freedom."

Claiming that Iran is providing arms to the Armenians through the Zengezur [name as published] region, Elchibey accused Russia of trying to obstruct Azerbaijan from becoming a UN member. He further said: "The support Turkey may give to Azerbaijan to become a UN member is very important. The Armenian lobby wishes to have Azerbaijan pushed aside, just as in Georgia's case. I wish to inform the entire world that the Russian military forces are destroying the Caucasus region and supporting the Armenians. The Russians are also to blame for the state of terrorism in Georgia."

Regarding the attacks on Khodzhaly, Elchibey claimed that 2,000 Azerbaijanis are missing and that many Azerbaijani women have been taken to Armenia as hostages. He said: "The Armenians are using bulldozers to destroy the towns they have captured."

'Humanitarian Corridor' Between Baku, Shusa

LD0703191992 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 7 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[Text] Paris March 7 TASS—The first "humanitarian corridor" between Baku, capital of Azerbaijan, and the town of Shusha in Nagorno-Karabakh was opened today with direct participation of the movements "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" and "Pharmaceuts [as received] Not Recognising Borders", Bernard Kouchner, French secretary of state for humanitarian activities, now on a visit in Yerevan, told

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE today. He arrived there for the implementation of a plan of settling the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, worked out by the French government.

At the same time, Kouchner continued, they did not manage to open another "humanitarian corridor" between Yerevan and Stepanakert because of bad weather and for security reasons. According to Kouchner, a massive offensive of Azeri units on the city of Askeran, situated north of Stepanakert, was the main obstacle.

It is the second time we fail to organise the delivery of food and medication to Stepanakert, and we shall have to give up these attempts for some time. However, in a week I shall go there again, said Kouchner, who arrives in Paris today.

Iranian Paper Interviews Mutalibov on Conflict

NC0903105592 Tehran SORUSH in Persian
29 Feb-6 Mar 92 pp 10, 11

["Exclusive" interview with Ayaz Mutalibov, then president of Azerbaijan, while attending the Economic Cooperation Organization session on 16-17 February in Tehran, by unidentified SORUSH correspondent]

[Text] [SORUSH] This is the first time that you have attended the ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization] session. Why did you choose to attend now and how do you view the future of the session?

[Mutalibov] Today countries all over the world are drawing together and new laws are being written and implemented. From this point of view our participation in the ECO session is natural. We have much in common with this region, as you know better than we, and there is no need for me to elaborate on that.

We are at the beginning of a common road, we view these organizations positively, and these issues demand that we become members.

[SORUSH] You mean for the same reason you participated in the preliminary sessions of the Black Sea countries, to increase economic cooperation?

[Mutalibov] I personally did not attend but our representative did.

[SORUSH] This is the reason for my question. Do you attach greater importance to the ECO session and do you see a bright future for this organization in view of its past activities? Western propaganda is striving to project the impression that the Black Sea session will eclipse the ECO session.

[Mutalibov] I view such propaganda negatively and think it is nothing but baseless rumors. I do not put any value on such rumors and I believe that countries in various parts of the world should have relations. We favor meetings among the littoral countries of the Caspian Sea and hope such organizations are set up and we can participate in them.

[SORUSH] Our two nations have very close cultural and historical relations. Western countries and media, however, are trying to convey the impression that the newly independent republics are afraid of what is known as fundamentalism, so they may wish to lean more toward other neighbors which are more Westernized. What is your opinion?

[Mutalibov] This kind of policy and similar rumors have been used against us. The motive for doing this is so Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan, and the other regional republics, should not become too close; they should not make any progress, remaining in a state of discord, so that the West may capitalize on the situation for their own objectives.

[SORUSH] In your opinion, can the Western countries also capitalize on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue and the differences between Armenia and Azerbaijan, creating problems in our relations?

[Mutalibov] No. They cannot use this issue as a basis for creating differences between the two countries. Iran can play the role of mediator between Armenia and Azerbaijan on this issue. Efforts should be made to douse the flames in Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is situated on Iran's northern borders and there should be security and peace, not civil strife, in that region. This is essential.

[SORUSH] We have heard that you asked that Iran be an interlocutor in the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Is this true? If it is, why did you not ask Iran directly?

[Mutalibov] It is necessary to state that Armenia is also geographically situated in this region, and like all the other countries, it should also make an effort for peace and tranquillity in the region. We have no objections if all the region's countries wish to try to resolve the differences. We consider it our obligation to use the services of all the region's countries to resolve the issue. Therefore we asked Iran to mediate and assist us through peaceful and diplomatic channels.

[SORUSH] At the Minsk conference, most of the former republics of the Soviet Union stated that they are not in favor of a joint military command and they wish to have independent armed forces. What is your stance and what is your objective in setting up an independent armed force?

[Mutalibov] First, we wish to set up an independent armed force to defend our country and not to interfere in others' territory. The decision for this rests with our Supreme Council and the armed forces will replace the Armed Forces of the former Soviet Union. Our intention is certainly not aggression against others. I think an

independent government should have independent organizations, departments, and institutions as well as independent forces for guarding the borders, an independent armed forces, its own currency, customs office, and so on.

[SORUSH] It has been said that Baker and the U.S. delegation discussed their fear of the spread of Islamic fundamentalism in the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union and requested assistance in this regard. Is it true?

[Mutalibov] Such a fear does not exist. Certain well-known persons are disseminating such rumors against Azerbaijan. In Azerbaijani devout people adhere to their beliefs and these rumors stem from the fact that they are free to do so; we have not imposed any restrictions on them. We have our religion and we are Muslims. Those who make such remarks and speak about fundamentalism may do so because they are afraid of it becoming popular. Since the beginning of the new year the Koran has been published in the Azeri language and its first edition has been disseminated. The American delegation, however, did not officially mention this issue and this anxiety about fundamentalism as you have stated.

[SORUSH] Do you see bright prospects for peace with Armenia?

[Mutalibov] Our dispute is about Nagorno-Karabakh. Come and see the location of Nagorno-Karabakh. We said to the heads of European countries that the situation deteriorated because of false reporting. We are at the end of the century and while we are discovering new planets, no one is bothered about discovering the truth. No one has even bothered to find out why, in a place where the population is 7.5 million, so much blood has been shed, and who is responsible.

The reason for this conflict is that certain powers are exploiting differences for a particular reason. Today, among those who are battling with us, we see many people of different nationalities who cannot even speak Armenian.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Appointed to New State Council

AU1103094792 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0500 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Resolution of the Republic of Georgia Military Council on the Leadership of the Republic of Georgia State Council issued in Tbilisi on 10 March 1992]

[Text] The Republic of Georgia Military Council resolves:

1. To appoint Eduard Shevardnadze as chairman of the Georgian State Council.

2. To appoint Jaba Ioseliani as deputy chairman of the Georgian State Council.

3. To create the Georgian State Council Presidium represented by the following persons: Jaba Ioseliani, Tengiz Kitovani, Tengiz Sigua, and Eduard Shevardnadze.

[Signed] The Republic of Georgia Military Council

[Dated] 10 March 1992.

More on New Council

LD1003201692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1901 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Politics section": "Demsoyuz Offered State Power Reorganization in Georgia"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Demsoyuz (Democratic Union) of Georgia offered to pass power over to the State Council. The council includes Eduard Shevardnadze, Tengiz Sigua, Dzhaba Ioseliani, Tengiz Kitovani.

The Georgian Democratic Union which was initiator of Eduard Shevardnadze's comeback, worked out the draft of reforming the current state government structure. Upon establishment of the State Council as the supreme body of executive and legislative power, the Military Council will have to announce self-dissolution. The State Council, according to the Democratic Union's draft, will form a consultative organ—Darbazi—considering recommendations by political parties. The cabinet of ministers proceeds with its work, according to the draft.

Sigua Praises Shevardnadze's 'Shrewdness'

LD0903221992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Tengiz Sigua, prime minister of the Georgian provisional government, stated after a meeting with Eduard Shevardnadze that he was convinced once again of Shevardnadze's political shrewdness and of his huge potential. I am convinced that we will reach optimal decisions and the high international rating of Shevardnadze is a guarantee of it, the prime minister said. We would like to remind you that Shevardnadze will take part in the forthcoming parliamentary elections in Georgia.

[Correspondent I. Kondiashvili] The arrival of Shevardnadze did not leave anyone indifferent, and of course no other official reception could compare in its national fervor to the meeting which was organized by his compatriots in Tbilisi. Of course, Shevardnadze has opponents, but the population mainly associates with him hopes for the stabilization of the situation and for an extrication from the crisis. That is why the first words uttered by Shevardnadze on Georgian soil probably were not accidental: Some people are convinced that I have

arrived as a private individual on a visit. It is not true. I can state without any exaggeration that I have come as a political and public figure, and I have come to work and create with my people.

On his arrival, Shevardnadze visited Sioni Cathedral, what is left of the Rustaveli Prospekt, and also the graves of those who died during the recent tragic events. Yesterday he held a news conference and today, to tell the truth with great danger to his pocket, he visited the city's market and spoke to his compatriots. It is not known whether he bought anything at the market.

Shevardnadze's Motives Viewed

PM1003150792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Besik Urigashvili report: "Eduard Shevardnadze: I Have Come Here to Work"]

[Text] Tbilisi—After nearly three years away, Eduard Shevardnadze stepped onto Georgian soil once again 7 March 1992. It happened at 1316 hours local time at Tbilisi Airport, where around 5,000 people had gathered for the event. It is a long time since anybody commanded such an emotional welcome in Georgia. A sea of flowers and a sea of tears; hundreds of journalists, representatives from the various political parties and social organizations; the leadership of the Military Council and of the provisional government; well-known figures from the arts and science world.

Even the object of such rejoicing, well versed in ceremonial and other events at the highest level of protocol, was markedly unsettled. However, his speech before the assembled crowd was notable for its literary refinement and the uniquely Shevardnadze-style skill for embracing the unembraceable, playing on the audience's most sensitive points. The crowd saw for themselves the very thing which the rest of the sublunary world had seen long ago—that this is a great diplomat and politician.

Shevardnadze declared that he cannot be a mere bystander at what is for Georgia a crucial time, when it is a question of the existence of Georgian statehood itself and the integrity of the Georgian nation.

"I am not a guest in this land. I have rolled up my sleeves and come here to work." He opened his speech with this sentence.

In Shevardnadze's words, Georgia has many friends both in former Union countries and in the West. He thanked Georgia's youth and intelligentsia, who in Shevardnadze's opinion had made a decisive contribution to the overthrow of the totalitarian regime, and he expressed confidence that all political parties will join forces to enable Georgia to overcome the deep economic and political crisis.

Georgian Military Council Leaders T. Kitovani and D. Ioseliani came to the airport and did not hide their joy and satisfaction at the event. Many people in Georgia today link their hopes for political stability, economic revival, and recognition by the international community to the name of Shevardnadze. Shevardnadze's authority in the international arena is high enough to serve as a specific guarantee for politicians, businessmen, and financiers alike.

But can Shevardnadze consolidate the nation and help overcome that destructive impulse which Zviad Gamsakhurdia instilled so expertly into the consciousness of the masses who were not prepared by civilian life for his kind of populist phraseology?

Throughout his long political career, Shevardnadze has rarely committed an error. On practically no occasion has he committed fatal errors or made hasty political moves. It would be flippant to believe that today's return to his homeland is an impulsive step dictated by the nostalgia of an aging man who is somewhat at loose ends, but who is out of touch with his homeland and has not mastered the real situation. Shevardnadze is undoubtedly very well informed about Georgian politics today and about the mood of the people. Of course, he also senses that his increased rating among the population is primarily due to the sharp deterioration in the people's standard of living, hunger, the cold, and a lack of confidence in the future. Humble folk have lost all faith in the abstract programs of a multitude of political parties, which in fact are not even real parties yet. For them, the belief in a forceful individual, in some sort of savior who will solve all their problems for them, is more usual and comforting. Today Shevardnadze can fill this role better than any other, but for the first time he will have to perform solo in the theater of the absurd. Here it is like being in a minefield—one false move leads to an inevitable explosion.

Shevardnadze understands his situation beautifully. And like a true politician, he has been careful not to burn his bridges in that he has declared that he will leave Georgia if he is not convinced that his return can help to normalize the situation. This is in case events should develop according to an unpredicted scenario—for example, should the supporters of the ousted president successfully exploit social difficulties to incite the masses to large-scale antigovernment action, thereby plunging the country once and for all into the grips of chaos, anarchy, and criminal excesses. But most observers hold the view that this is highly unlikely insofar as the ex-president's supporters lack in quality what they can boast in quantity. There is not a single credible figure among them today who is capable of reviving the pro-Zviad movement as a serious political force. And without a forceful populist leader, the movement itself, ochlocratic in essence, is doomed to failure. Shevardnadze and his supporters are banking on this.

Right now it is difficult to predict how and in what way Shevardnadze's legalization in Georgia's state structures will take place. There are several possible versions. By far the most outspoken version is proposed by the openly pro-Shevardnadze "Democratic Union of Georgia" and

consists in setting up a committee of national salvation—that is, a provisional supreme organ of power exercising emergency powers under the direct participation of E. Shevardnadze. The more moderate faction proposes to wait until the elections and to place everything on a legal basis. The radicals, led by Irakliy Tsereteli, are generally against Shevardnadze's participation in official structures and believe that he could do more good through activity as a minssionar, of Georgian civilization on Georgia's behalf, and better still beyond its borders.

One way or another, everybody here is well aware that the creation of the Fund for Georgian Revival and Democracy—the initiative of Shevardnadze himself—is nothing more than a decorous means facilitating his return to Georgia. They understand that he will not restrict himself to this and that he is needed. However, just how far Georgia's current politicians, having had a taste of real power, are able to sacrifice their specific interests for the sake of the higher national interest is another matter. It will become clear in the not too distant future.

Nevertheless, Shevardnadze's first day in Tbilisi was quite successful and busy. From the airport he went to the Zion cathedral. Later he visited Catholicos, Patriarch of All Georgia, Iliya II, with whom he had an hour-long discussion; inspected the ruins on Rustaveli Avenue; and went to the cemetery, where the victims of the December and January events are buried... When his escort with its white "Volga" and "GAZ-31" passed the university building, there was a gathering of approximately 20 women—supporters of the former president—who hurled imprecations at Shevardnadze, reminding us yet again that no man is a prophet in his own country.

An official meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze and Tengiz Sigua will take place 8 March. Then there will be a news conference: yet another thrilling page in Georgia's new history is beginning.

Council Member Discusses Democratic Reforms

AU0903185992 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 2 Mar 92 p 7

[Interview with Eldar Shengelaya, member of the Consultative Council of the provisional Georgian Government and head of "Democratic Georgia," by Roland Heine; place and date not given: "A Democratic Chance for Georgia?"]

[Text] [Heine] The West keeps a clear distance from the new government in Tbilisi. The victorious armed opposition is hardly considered to be more reliable than Gamsakhurdia himself. Do you understand this?

[Shengelaya] After everything that has happened, yes. Serious questions are being asked, about the respect for human rights in Georgia, for instance, and about protection for minorities. Gamsakhurdia's regime was a fascist, nationalist dictatorship. There were practically no civil liberties. There were not any real reforms, either. This had its logic, because these structures had proved their worth as an instrument of dictatorship during the times of the CPSU. Then Gamsakhurdia's regime also provoked the war in South Ossetia.

[Heine] Prominent members of the new leadership, above all head of government Tengiz Sigua and National Guard Leader Tengiz Kitovani, belonged to Gamsakhurdia's team as late as last summer. At that time any kind of opposition—including your "Democratic Georgia"—was declared criminal. This certainly does not indicate that the current rulers are real democrats.

[Shengelaya] You know, the processes in Georgia have a great dynamism. In this time of general decay of an empire an enormous process of rethinking is taking place. From this point of view, it is only natural that the positions of the individual politicians are changing. But it is true: When Gamsakhurdia was elected the opposition was very small. He promised everyone a "golden Georgia." The voters were not able to understand the consequences of his antidemocratic statements.

[Heine] This also applied to Sigua and Kitovani?

[Shengelaya] I think that they supported Gamsakhurdia because they thought that he would chose the right path in the end. Practical policy, however, brought about the break.

[Heine] Gamsakhurdia's nationalist course provoked the war in South Ossetia. Why were no protests by the opposition against this side of his policy heard at that time?

[Shengelaya] The opposition simply did not have any opportunity to articulate itself loudly. We had neither a newspaper nor access to television. Immediately after Gamsakhurdia's ouster, a commission for settling this problem was formed. However, one thing is clear: No Georgian government can accept South Ossetia's joining North Ossetia, which belongs to Russia. The home of the Ossetians is today's North Ossetia; they came to Georgia only over the past two centuries.

[Heine] Will South Ossetia's autonomy, which was rescinded by Gamsakhurdia, be reestablished?

[Shengelaya] This is difficult to say. After all, the autonomies were a Soviet invention. Personally, I am in favor of cultural autonomy and a national regional parliament. This could be linked very well with the idea of a federal structure of Georgia. Historically, Georgia can be traced back to several old kingdoms.

[Heine] The new government has been in office for almost two months—where is there any evidence of democratization?

[Shengelaya] First of all, we stressed the provisional character of the new power and announced parliamentary elections. At the moment dates between June and October are being discussed. Furthermore, the ban on

parties, which had been imposed by Gamsakhurdia, was rescinded and censorship of media has been abolished. It is at least of equal importance that economic reforms have finally been started. Gamsakhurdia would have blocked this completely.

[Heine] When elections were held in 1991, there were more than 100 parties in Georgia, many of whom were not much more than a group of personal followers of individual leaders. Is a stable democratic development possible at all in view of this?

[Shengelaya] These are growing pains of our democracy, which we are overcoming gradually. In "Democratic Georgia," for instance, nine parties have united. Of course, no one can guarantee that all current parties will really develop a democratic structure. The main thing is that the losers of the coming elections also have the opportunity to articulate their demands.

[Heine] Do you really believe that this is guaranteed, no matter who will win in the end?

[Shengelaya] Well, I very much hope so. If this is not the case I will certainly go into the opposition. However, we are still at the very beginning of a democratic development. If the West now demands that we present a democratic system practically immediately, I must say that Western democracy did not develop overnight, either. It needed an appropriate social and economic basis. European democracy does not exist because there are smarter people in Europe but because social and economic conditions developed there, on the basis of which democracy became politically possible. By the way, it was Gorbachev's biggest mistake not to realize this. He tried to impose democracy from above.

[Heine] One of Gorbachev's fellow fighters was Eduard Shevardnadze, a Georgian. Will he play a political role in his homeland?

[Shengelaya] I am convinced that Shevardnadze could play a very positive and decisive role. Among Georgia's intelligentsia there are many who think that Shevardnadze's former terms of office as Georgian interior minister and head of the Communist Party should be considered closed chapters. It was a different time, a different Shevardnadze. Today's Georgia wants to enter the international arena, where Shevardnadze is respected very much.

[Heine] Influential members of the Provisional Government, such as Kitovani, are obviously of a completely different opinion. They want to bring a member of the Bagrationis, the Georgian royal family, to Tbilisi and reestablish the monarchy.

[Shengelaya] There is hardly a social basis for such plans in Georgia. The country has completely different problems.

[Heine] How do you see the future of Georgia's relations with the West?

[Shengelaya] Georgia needs close relations with the West. The Georgian Democratic Republic from 1918 to 1921 had extremely close relations in particular with the German-speaking area. Today the Georgian Society in Germany is doing very much for developing contacts. Soon an independent Georgian Information Office is to be established in Berlin, for which sponsors are still being searched by the Society. A relief action for the Central Children's Hospital in Tbilisi is also being prepared. I thank all those in Germany who help Georgia.

Guard Reinforcements Sent to Western Region

OW1003204792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1937 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Georgian Interior Ministry's press center, additional units of the national guard and the paramilitary organization NKHEDRIONI (The Horsemen) were sent to western Georgia on Tuesday [10 March] in view of mounting tensions in the cities of Poti, Zugdidi and Senaki, where supporters of the deposed president Zviad Gamsakhurdia have been showing considerable activity lately. A press center spokesman said that on Monday, Gamsakhurdists set fire to the prefect's office in Poti and a hotel in Sugdidi. They also set off an explosive device in the Zugdidi police headquarters, killing 3 people. Several thousand people in Senaki have continued non-stop to rally in support of Gamsakhurdia. Slogans like "Oust Shevardnadze from Georgia!" have become increasingly popular at pro-Gamsakhurdia rallies in Sukhumi, capital of Abkhazia, an autonomous republic within Georgia, where speakers have accused Eduard Shevardnadze of having been an organizer of the military clampdown on a peaceful demonstration in Tbilisi on 9 April 1989, which resulted in numerous casualties. There have been repeated calls for preventing Shevardnadze's election as president of the republic, and for "seizing Tbilisi" and "ousting the opposition".

Former Prefecture Burned Down

AU1003165292 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1415 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Unfortunately, the situation has again become tense in certain regions of western Georgia. Our correspondent telephoned Batoni Vakhtang [name indistinct], an employee in Poti's security department, and asked him several questions.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Batoni Vakhtang, what has been happening in Poti these last few days? We have no information.

[Employee] One citizen [words indistinct] was killed by militia cadets during the curfew.

[Reporter] When did this happen?

[Employee] The night before last. The following day relatives took the corpse to the former prefecture

building located in the central square [words indistinct]. (?People were holding a rally.) (?They) took advantage of this moment and, in the confusion, set fire to the building. The building was burned to the ground.

[Reporter] This was the building of the former prefecture?

[Employee] Yes. Then the crowd was dispersed by firing into the air because they would not let the fire engines through to put out the fire. There were many people [words indistinct].

At the moment, a rally is taking place involving approximately 700-800 persons. This is what I have been told. I am unable to go outside for the moment. [passage indistinct] [end of recording]

Russian Volunteers Fighting in South Ossetia

LD1103055192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Video report by reporter I. Tabolova from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] From our report on volunteers in Azerbaijan we now turn to a Russian legion in Ossetia. A report from our correspondent should bring some clarity to the question of whether there are any Russian volunteers there or not.

[Tabolova] A detachment of the voluntary Russian National Legion has been in Tskhinvali for some time. The detachment is small. It is composed of young people from various Russian towns. To tell the truth, the leadership of South Ossetia did not address anyone with a request of this nature, but the National Republican Party of Russia, which set up the movement of legionaries, acted in accordance with its own policy.

You say this is a party that stands for national and state interests. What are these interests?

[Begin recording of A. Maltsev, member of the Central Council of the National Republican Party of Russia] They are a single state territory, a single strong state, a single army, and a single sound economy. In general, they represent everything Russia had before 1917. [end recording]

South Ossetian Leader Favors Peace Talks

LD1103061792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Torez Kulumbegov, chairman of the South Ossetian Supreme Soviet, spoke in favor of obligatory discussions on the parliamentary level about conditions for talks with the Georgian leadership regarding a peace settlement of the Georgia-South Ossetia conflict. On 10 March he is departing Vladikavkaz for Tskhinval, where a meeting of parliamentary deputies is due to open tomorrow. According to him, people are tired of living in permanent extreme conditions under the threat of death, without bread, water, or warmth.

Kulumbegov underlined that politicians who are responsible for people's destinies must aim to bring normality back to them, regardless of how difficult it might be.

Gamsakhurdia Comments on 'Bandit Administration'

NC0603163792 Istanbul TURKIYE in Turkish 26 Feb 92 p 13

["Part one" of a two-part report on an interview with deposed Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia by Ramazan Aydin on a farmstead in Georgia; date not given]

[Excerpt] During our meeting a few years ago in Gamsakhurdia's home in Tbilisi, he said: "We are trying to become human again. We are struggling to attain the standards of free peoples."

Even then he described Gorbachev's "Glasnost and Perestroyka" policies as "Neobolshevism" and expressed his views on developments in the [former] Soviet Union thus: "The crux of the matter is whether or not Russian imperialism will survive. After the revolution, Lenin brought all the institutions of the imperialist Russian empire under his control and fooled the world with his system. With that system bottlenecked, the need for restructuring arose. This is what Gorbachev is doing but he will not achieve it without the help of the United States and Europe." After receiving a staggering 87 percent of the vote in the 1990 elections and becoming president, Zviad Gamsakhurdia pursued a policy aimed at severing all ties with Moscow.

This is what he says now: "Our people want freedom in the form it is accepted worldwide. So we established our own independent state and announced we would not take part in the CIS but would continue good relations with these countries. Last March I met Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Kazbek city and signed a friendship and cooperation agreement. We did not take part in the 21 December Alma Ata meeting of CIS heads of state. The next day the Tbilisi parliament building came under attack. This is a very curious coincidence."

Yeltsin Preferred To Deal With the Mafia

Indicating that while last year the Russian Parliament did not approve earthquake relief in Georgia, but urgently aided Tengiz Kitovani and Tengiz Sigua who are now in power there, Gamsakhurdia said: "It is surprising that the head of the Russian Parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, was the first to approve this gangsterism. The head of the Russian Parliament sanctioned an armed coup which dissolved the parliament."

We Will Boycott the Elections

We continued to talk after the meal. While taking our coffee I reminded him that Sigua has promised to hold

elections. His reaction was immediate: "If we accepted any act of the bandit administration which usurped the legal rights of a democratically elected administration we would be legitimizing these acts. That is why we will boycott the elections."

The UN Should Intervene in Georgia

Vowing that a few thousand armed people cannot control the fate of 5.5 million, Gamsakhurdia said the UN must intervene in Georgia. Pointing out that the world cannot but help restore the legal administration under UN auspices, Gamsakhurdia said: "We expect this primarily from Turkey and the Russian Federation otherwise these states will face problems, having treated like states bandit groups which topple legal administrations by force." [passage omitted]

More on Interview

NC0603215792 Istanbul TURKIYE in Turkish 27 Feb 92 p 13

["Part two" of a two-part report on an interview with deposed Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia by Ramazan Aydin on a farmstead in Georgia; date not given]

[Excerpts] At one time during our conversation, deposed Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and I discussed the nation's disorder and the nuclear weapons belonging to the former USSR.

Gamsakhurdia said that every nuclear military installation is currently under the control of Russian soldiers, adding: "The situation is so confusing; there is a lack of authority everywhere. The control mechanisms are paralyzed. The personnel guarding critical military installations worth billions of dollars receive meager salaries. These people cannot cover their most basic needs with this money in this anarchic atmosphere. What will they do then? They will sell anything they can get their hands on to get some money. In fact, privates are selling their weapons for $20. There is no mechanism to call such people to account. These privates later go and steal their colleagues' weapons. We could assume that a similar situation prevails as regards the expensive items at strategic military installations. The Mafia knows that officers at such installations are hungry. They might find a way to get hold of some of the items in these installations to sell to terrorists."

Nuclear Missiles Targeted on Turkey

I asked if the same situation applies to the nuclear missiles based in Georgia's Anaklia [name as published] region and targeted on Turkey. He replied anxiously: "How do you know about that?" I replied: "I toured the region and spoke with some people. Everybody says that there are many nuclear missiles there."

Pointing out that this matter must be carefully assessed by both Turkish leaders and U.S. President George Bush, Gamsakhurdia added: "Those in power now cannot bring peace and security to the country with the employment of a few thousand armed personnel. The people do not want them and, despite armed threats, are organizing rallies to protest these bandits. As long as the people want us to, there is nothing left but to continue our struggle. If immediate stability is the goal, the democratic countries must help so that the legitimate leaders, supported by the people, can come to power in Georgia again. Above all, Turkey must help us. I hope that Turkish leaders are not entertaining the idea that they can enter into a healthy dialogue with individuals who came to power in spite of the people. I personally cannot imagine that esteemed President Turgut Ozal and Prime Minister Demirel would establish a dialogue with a Mafia administration which disregards the will of the Georgian people." [passage omitted]

Taking Leave

Although he was in a very combative and determined mood, I got the impression that Gamsakhurdia might accept a reconciliation by the mediation of certain friendly countries and the United Nations. Otherwise, there seems to be no end in prospect to this turmoil. Not one single rally has been held to support the current regime. The rallies by Gamsakhurdia supporters, however, are continuing vigorously despite the fact that masked gunmen fire on them.

The events of the last few months must have brought home to Gamsakhurdia the mistakes he committed. It will be difficult for the group around Tengiz Sigua and Tengiz Kitovani to win over the people for the time being. It might be possible to come to power in Georgia with Moscow's help, but it is more difficult to hold on to the power.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Moscow

LD0803072392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1746 GMT 6 Mar 92

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Tbilisi—On March 4, an agreement on principles of economic, science-technical and culture cooperation between the governments of Georgia and Moscow for 1992 concluded in Tbilisi.

As reported by the press center of the provisional government, the agreement provides that the partners will seek for preservation of economic and other links at the 1990 level with the priority given to direct links between enterprises and organizations of Georgia and Moscow on the basis of general licences issued by the governments of Georgia and Moscow. Russian capital, in particular, displayed keen interest in Georgia's supplies of citrus fruits, metal tubes, wine articles, and other production as well as provision of accommodation places in Georgian health resorts. Moscow is ready to supply cars, TV sets, and other consumer goods in exchange.

Under the agreement, the governement of Moscow will take part in restoration works in Tbilisi and provide necessary building and construction materials and promised to restore a general education school in the propect of Rustaveli free of charge. Despite severe economic situation in Russia, Moscow will continue to send humanitarian aid to Georgia as long as possible.